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MID-PACIFIC MAGAZINE

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IMPORTANT

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By agreement between the trustees of the Pan-Pacific Union and the publisher of the MID-PACIFIC MAGAZINE the arrangement under which this magazine has been published as the "official organ" of the Pan-Pacific Union is discontinued with this issue.

The future plans of the Pan-Pacific Union for a publication are scheduled to be determined at the annual meeting of the trustees in January and will be covered in a special announcement to the membership.

The future plans for the MID-PACIFIC MAGAZINE will likewise be reserved for a later announcement.

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GEORGE MELLEN, Editor

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Early British Consuls in Hawaii

By M. PASKE-SMITH, F.R.G.S.

With 14 illustrations selected by the author.

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS are volcanic in formation, and hence in their folklore is found the tradition that they were formed by the union of God and Goddess.

Was born Hawaii
The first born island
Their first born child
Of Wakea together with Kane
And Papa of Walinuu the wife.

Such are the lines of an ancient poem or mele, commemorating the birth of Hawaii-Nei.¹

Ethnologists tell us that these beautiful islands were populated in the distant past by migration from Southern Asia through the South Sea Islands, the last step on the way being Tahiti. This theory fits in with the traditions of the Hawaiians, handed down in chants through the centuries and only committed to writing after the arrival of the *haole* (white foreigner).

Exactly when this movement took place is unknown. Previous to 1778,

the people of Hawaii led for centuries an isolated existence, untroubled by civilization. Placed as they are in the mid-Pacific, it seems almost incredible that during the course of the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English voyages of discovery made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, no foreign ship reached the islands to return with the tale. But this seems to be a fact. True, a claim is made on behalf of a Spaniard—Juan de Gaetán—that he visited Hawaii in 1542, but his voyage has never been authenticated. The Spaniards in the sixteenth century occupied the Philippines and were very anxious to find some safe harbor at which their galleons might touch between Mexico and their Far Eastern possessions. Surely, therefore, had the existence of Hawaii been known to them, they would have used it for the purpose.

This does not preclude, however, the probability that Spanish galleons or Dutch vessels, blown off their course by tempests, were wrecked from time to time on the coasts of Hawaii. On the contrary there are distinct indications

¹The name given to the group by their discoverer was the Sandwich Islands, after the First Lord of the Admiralty at the time, the Earl of Sandwich, but the name used here will be Hawaii, except when quoting from letters. Translated by Fornander.



King Liholiho (Kamehameha II) and Queen Kamamalu went to England with a small party of retainers to get the protection and aid from King George IV, promised to Kamehameha I by Vancouver. Liholiho and Kamamalu both died of measles, July, 1824, before they had had an interview with the King of England. Above, the King and Queen at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, June 4, a month before their death.—Reproduced by courtesy of The Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

that there have been such occurrences. Iron is said to have been introduced in this way. It is known, too, that Japanese vessels drifting helpless before the winds, reached the islands early in the nineteenth century, so the vessels of that nation may have arrived before.

The theory has also been advanced² that the famous vessel *De Liefde*, one of the Dutch Admiral Mahou's five ships, which left Holland in 1598 for the Far East, must have passed close to the Hawaiian Islands. It is based on the following part of a letter written by the English pilot, Will Adams, of that ship after his arrival in Japan:

So leaving the coast of Chili from thirty-six degrees of South latitude, the seven and twentieth of November, 1599, we took our

course directly for Japan, and passed the line equinoctial with a fair wind, which continued good for diverse months. In our way we fell in with certain islands in sixteenth degree of North latitude, the inhabitants whereof are maneaters. Coming near these islands, and having a great pinnacle with us, eight of our men being in the pinnacle, ran from us with the pinnacle and, as we supposed, were eaten of the wild men, of which people we took one, which afterward the General sent for to come into his ship.

The interest of Great Britain in the Pacific Ocean was aroused by the series of voyages made by Captain James Cook in the eighteenth century. Beginning with the exploration of Australasia, this illustrious British Seaman ended his career with the discovery of the Hawaiian Islands in January 1778. He was killed in February 1779 in a scuffle with the natives at Kealakekua Bay,

² Mr. John F. G. Stokes.

where he had landed to recover a boat, stolen from one of his ships. The story of his life and death is too well known to require repetition here.

On the beach at Kealakekua, let into the rock, is a small brass plate, washed by the waters of the bay, marking the spot where he fell. Nearby is a simple monument, flanked by twelve old sixteen pounders, which was erected in 1874 to his memory. The land on which it stands was conveyed to the British Government by Princess Likelike and its site is maintained in good order by the British Admiralty. To catch the atmosphere of the spot, one should cross the waters of the bay from Napoopoo by canoe. When I visited it, I was alone; an old Hawaiian piloted me over the smooth waters; on one side was the open sea, to which Cook's remains were committed, on the other, towering cliffs, studded with burial caves of Hawaiians. The depth makes the water a deep navy blue. The passage took twenty minutes, all of which was devoted to thoughts of the trivial end to such a useful life.

The voyage of the *Discovery* was followed quickly by that of other vessels both English and American, from which several sailors were left behind or deserted. The two most noted were John Young and Isaac Davis, both Englishmen, who became influential with the first of the Kamehameha dynasty, then a powerful chieftain in Hawaii. A few other Englishmen of the same stamp were James Beattie, J. Boyd, Archibald Campbell³, James Robinson, Alexander Stewart, John White, James Ruddock and William Sumner⁴, who were of great assistance to the native chiefs in building or navigating their vessels.

John Young rose to be the principal foreign adviser of the King. His son, John Young II or Keoni Ana Young, became Prime Minister under Kamehameha the Third. Isaac Davis left only daughters, who were provided for in the will of his companion, John Young. Davis died in the year 1816, and was

buried along the road to Waikiki but the site of his tomb has been lost.

Alexander Adams was another picturesque figure. He came out in 1815 as an officer on the brig *Forester*, which arrived in Honolulu in February 1816. The King of Hawaii purchased this vessel on condition that Adams entered his service. She made a voyage for the King to Canton, having been renamed the *Kaahumanu* in honor of the Queen. On his return from China in March 1817, Adams was sent to Kauai with instructions to dislodge the Russians, who had settled there and hoisted their flag. By dint of diplomacy mixed with libations, Adams persuaded them to vacate and had the Hawaiian flag hoisted. For his services he was rewarded with lands at Kalihi, and Niu, near Honolulu, where he came to live ashore, being employed as a pilot for Honolulu harbor, and in 1820 he was appointed harbor master. Incidentally William Sumner, mentioned above, was a shipmate of Adams on board the *Kaahumanu*.

The flag of Hawaii has the British Jack inset on a ground of eight stripes but originally the number of stripes was nine. There are two claimants to the honor of having designed this flag, Alexander Adams and George Beckley. When Archibald Campbell was in Hawaii in 1812, no Hawaiian flag existed because he mentions that the King was flying the British colors over his house. It is said that the flag was made between 1812 and 1816 by one of the above two captains. It is probable that it was a compromise between the Union Jack used by Kamehameha the First and the American and French colors, all three of these powers having an interest in Hawaii in those days. A sketch of a ship flying the Hawaiian ensign and the Royal Standard appears in the journal of Alexander Adams, so that possibly the honor belongs to him.

In 1792-1794 the islands were visited by Captain Vancouver, to whom the British Admiralty had entrusted the completion of the work begun in the Pacific by Captain Cook. It was Vancouver who brought to the Hawaiians their first cattle as well as quantities of vegetables and other plants. The dis-

³ In 1816 this man published an account of Hawaii. See "A voyage around the world 1806-1812."

⁴ See letter from Consul General Miller to Mr. Addington of the Foreign office, December 13, 1845. Sand Island, which fronts Honolulu harbour, was once the property of Sumner, and was known as Sumner's Island formerly. All the men mentioned in this letter have had streets named after them in Honolulu.



Boki, Governor of Oahu, and his wife, Liliha, accompanied King Liholiho and Queen Kamamalu to England, and when the King and Queen died,

returned with their bodies to Hawaii after interviewing King George IV.—
Reproduced by courtesy of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

coveries and surveys of Cook and Vancouver created a tremendous interest in Great Britain. Australia and New Zealand were declared British territory in the nineteenth century, but towards the islands of the Pacific, the attitude of the British Government was to encourage the different islanders to maintain their independence and to develop their lands along civilized lines.

In order to give support to these views, the British Government decided,

early in the nineteenth century, to appoint a Consular Agent for the Sandwich, Friendly and the Society Islands. The suggestion for this appointment came from the Board of Trade and the Admiralty. The choice of the Government fell upon a Captain Richard Charlton, who at that time—1824—was about to leave England for the Sandwich Islands. Captain Charlton already had a good knowledge of the ground, having been dispatched some years

previously by the firm of Palmer, Wilson and Company of London, which held a license from the English East India Company to trade in Chinese waters, to make a trading survey of the Pacific Islands, that company no doubt having hopes of extending thither the monopoly of English trade which the East India Company then enjoyed in India and China. Richard Charlton had been brought up in the merchant naval service, graduating from cabin boy to Commander, which situation he had filled for many years. At the time of his appointment as Consul he had a small brig—the *Active* of 105 tons burden with a crew of ten, in which he sailed from Falmouth for Hawaii in the spring of 1825. The actual date of his appointment, made by Mr. Canning, was September 23, 1824. His salary was fixed at £200 a year with the right to trade on his own behalf while holding his office.

Almost the first dispatch received from the Foreign Office was one notifying the Consul of the death in London of the King and Queen of the Sandwich Islands, King Liholiho or Kamehameha the Second, and his Queen Kamamalu, and instructing him to make known the melancholy tidings to the authorities; to testify to the sincere regret which had been felt in England at the afflicting event, and to convey to the Government of the Sandwich Islands assurances of the constant desire entertained by the King of England for their welfare and prosperity, and of the wishes of the British Government to establish the most friendly relations with them.

The journey of King Kamehameha and his Queen to England had been undertaken by that monarch in a desire to receive from the King of England that protection and aid which had been promised to Kamehameha the First by Vancouver, whose memory was still fresh among the Hawaiians. In the period between Vancouver's departure and the Royal visit to England much had occurred. Kamehameha had brought the whole archipelago under his rule, which had lasted until 1819⁵.

The islands had gained a place of importance in the Pacific fur trade between the Northwest Coast of America and China. The idolatry of Hawaii, with its *tabu* system, had been broken down and a large body of American missionaries had arrived and secured permission to remain. The mind of Kamehameha was much perplexed about the future of his people and his islands, and he hoped that guidance, mixed with knowledge, might be found in England.⁶

The King and Queen of Hawaii, however, died in London before they were able to have an interview with King George IV. The condolences of the King were made to members of the late King's suite at Windsor Castle in the following words addressed to Boki, one of the Hawaiian chiefs present: •

I exceedingly regret the recent death of your King and his wife. The Chiefs and people will think I have been inattentive to your King. But it is not so, for the same medicines and the same physicians have been employed as are used for the Chiefs of this nation. On account of the severity of the disease he died.

The King then asked Boki, "What was the business on which you and your King came to this country?"

Boki replied:

"We have come to confirm the words which Kamehameha the First gave in charge to Vancouver, thus, 'Go back and tell King George to watch over me and my whole Kingdom. I acknowledge him as my landlord and myself as tenant; for him as superior and I as inferior. Should the foreigners of any other nation come to take possession of my lands, then let him help me'."

This was interpreted to King George by James Young,⁷ the son of John Young by his Hawaiian wife. When King George had heard, he answered:

"I have heard these words. I will attend to the evil without. The evils within your Kingdom it is not for me to regard, they are with yourselves. Return and say to the King, to Kaahumanu,⁸ and to Kalaimoku⁹ I will watch over

⁵ King George of England presented the King of Hawaii with a schooner, the *Prince Regent*, which arrived on April 9, 1822.

⁷ This account was given by Kekuanoa who was present; see to Foreign Office March 18, 1851.

⁸ The widow of Kamehameha I.

⁹ A very high Chief, the right hand man of Kamehameha I, who was left in charge of executive affairs by Kamehameha II, when he left for England. Hear-

⁶ According to the journals of Marin and Alexander Adams Kamehameha I died on May 8, 1819. Marin gives his age as 60 years and 6 months.

1. King Kamehameha I
2. Queen Kaahumanu
3. King Kamehameha II
4. Queen Kamamalu
5. King Kamehameha III
6. Queen Kalama
7. King Kamehameha IV
8. Queen Emma
9. King Kamehameha V
10. King Lunalilo
11. King Kalakaua
12. Queen Kapiolani
13. Queen Liliuokalani
14. Prince Leleiohoku
15. Princess Kaiulani
16. Princess Likelike
17. Princess Victoria
18. Princess Ruth Keelikalani
19. Princess Bernice Pauahi
20. Princess Kinau
21. Prince David
22. Prince Kalanianaʻole
23. Albert, Prince of Hawaii



your country. I will not take possession of it for mine but I will watch over it lest evils should come from others to the Kingdom. I therefore will watch over him agreeable to those ancient words."

The bodies of the dead King and Queen were sent back to Honolulu on board the British frigate *Blonde* under the command of Lord George Byron, with every honor and respect. A royal funeral was held, at which Lord Byron and Captain Charlton represented the British Government. As a last act of courtesy to the dead monarch, the British Government purchased portraits, which had been under preparation, of the late King and Queen and of their principal attendants and ordered the Consul to present those of his late brother and sister-in-law to Kamehameha III, that of Governor Boki and his wife to the Governor and those of Admiral Kapihe and the Treasurer Kuanoa to themselves. A portrait of Mr. Rives, the late King's secretary, was to be given to his wife.

Lord Byron made a deep impression on the Hawaiians, who named Byron's Bay at Hilo after him. His advice was eagerly sought. At a grand council of chiefs, he was asked whether the King of England had any objections to the work of the American Mission, to which he replied that, provided they had no intention of ruling, no one could object to their instructing the natives in reading and the Christian religion. Later he put in writing eight suggestions, as below, which were nothing more than a recommendation to continue quietly the old habits and customs of the islands as best suited to the character of the people.

1. That the King be the head of the people.
2. That all the Chiefs swear allegiance to the King.
3. That the lands, which are now held by the Chiefs shall not be taken from them, but shall descend to their legitimate children, except in case of rebellion, and then all the property shall be forfeited to the King.
4. That a tax be regularly paid to the King to keep up his dignity and establishment.
5. That no man's life be taken away except by consent of the King or Regent, for the time being, and of twelve Chiefs.
6. That the King or Regent can grant pardons at all times.

7. That all the people shall be free, and not bound to any Chief.
8. That a port duty be laid on all foreign vessels.

Captain Richard Charlton arrived at the Island of Oahu, or Woahoo as spelt formerly, on the 16th of April, 1825. In his first report to the Foreign Office he describes the state of anxiety of all at the death of the King and praises the abilities and faithful government of Kailimoku, who was ruling the islands jointly with Kaahumanu, the Queen Mother, during the minority of the new King, then only twelve years old. Civilization, he said, was rapidly advancing, and great credit was due to the missionaries for their exertions towards promoting Christianity and learning among the natives.

As regards trade, the consul¹⁰ reported in June, 1825, that the bulk of it was in the hands of Americans, who imported firearms, British printed cottons, broadcloth and hardware, which they sold to the natives at extravagant prices, taking sandalwood in return. The sandalwood trade became important about 1812, when the wood was discovered to be abundant in the mountains of the islands. Some American shipmasters, who had been for several years in the habit of touching at Honolulu on their passages to and from the northwest coast, entered into a contract with King Kamehameha I, and carried cargoes of it to China, realizing large profits. Owing to the monopoly of the English East India Company of English trade with China, no English vessel had been able to engage in it. Whilst the sandalwood was being collected, the vessels usually proceeded to the northwest coast of America to procure beaver and sea-otter skins for the China market and called again at Hawaii for their wood en route to China. In a dispatch of 1827¹¹ the Consul gives the price of sandalwood as \$7.00 a picul. It was in this year that for the first time the common people were allowed to cut and sell sandalwood on their own account after each man had paid a tax of half a picul of wood to the King for the payment of a debt he had contracted to the amount of 14,000

ing that William Pitt was the name of a great Premier in England, he adopted the name and was much offended if not so addressed.

¹⁰ See to the Foreign Office No. 7 of June 10, 1825.

¹¹ See to the Foreign Office No. 5 of October 15, 1827.

piculs of wood. Previously the sandalwood trade had been a requisite of the King.

In July, 1826, the ship *Merope*¹² of Calcutta touched at Hawaii on her passage from the coast of Mexico to China, having on board a small remnant of her Bengal cargo, which was purchased by the Governor of Oahu, Boki, at a good profit to the merchant. The success of this little speculation induced the firm of Robertson, Allen and Company of Canton, jointly with Lieutenant George Ward Cole, owner and commander of a barque *Teignmouth*, to send her with a cargo from Canton. She arrived on the 7th of July, 1827, and immediately disposed of her cargo at a high price. The *Dhaulli*, a brigantine, was also put into the same trade, but the failure of Robertson, Allen and Company of Canton, together with the low price of sandalwood in China, put a stop to the trade for some years.

In subsequent letters in 1830 and 1831 the Consul offered more hope for British trade, reporting how the Hudson Bay Company¹³ of Canada had sent vessels from England to collect furs on the northwest coast of America, a trade which for many years had been entirely in the hands of the Americans. In his opinion this trade increased the importance of the islands as that Company's annual ship for England used to call and take cargo amounting to seventy or eighty thousand pounds.

In a report dated September 22, 1831, the Consul mentions the internal economy of the islands. The revenues were principally derived from tonnage dues on shipping, a duty of 50 per cent on all provisions sold in the market and from sandalwood, which the people were allowed to collect upon bringing half to the Government. Expenditure was very little or none, as persons holding situations under government had no salary, but had usually a piece of land allotted to them from which they took half the produce, the remainder after paying the market tax being allowed to the people

who cultivated the land. Public works were performed by the lower classes, who were generally employed three days in the week and were not paid for their labor. The consequence was that they were not able to attend to the cultivation of their lands and were extremely wretched.

Of military force, there was none except for a few naked followers of the King and Chiefs numbering in all the islands about six hundred men armed with muskets but not kept in a fit state for service. The Chiefs also had a few small vessels¹⁴, mostly in a bad state and not armed.

The King¹⁵ was about nineteen years old. He was nominally the head of the Government, but without the least authority, the islands being governed by Kaahumanu, one of the widows of Kamehameha the First, who was entirely under the control of the American missionaries. In the opinion of the Consul, the group of islands was capable of great improvement, being well situated for the carrying trade between China and the ports of California, Mexico, Peru, and Chile. The climate was one of the finest in the world and the soil very superior, all kinds of European vegetables being produced in the greatest perfection. Wheat and barley had been tried and found to thrive well. The mountains of Owyhee¹⁶ abounded in cattle, droves of from four to five thousand each often being met with. Yet, with all this, the laboring classes seldom had a sufficiency of food owing to the oppression of the Chiefs.

As a result of the trade carried on there had grown up at Honolulu quite a colony of traders, mostly Americans and British, with the former predominating. On account of the pecuniary benefits brought by the presence of these traders, this group was not without influence but its interests were more or less opposed to those of the missionaries. It is not surprising therefore that two parties grew up, a religious and a secular. At the head of the missionaries

¹² To Admiral, September 23, 1842.

¹³ This Company established an office at Honolulu in 1834. The weather vane bearing its crest, a beaver, is still to be seen over the building of F. W. Waldron and Co.

¹⁴ For list, see Annex No. 1.

¹⁵ To Admiralty, September 22, 1831. The Regent Kalaimoku had died February 7, 1827, and had been succeeded by Boki, who disappeared in 1829. To F. O. February 27, 1827.

¹⁶ Hawaii, the largest island.

were Mr. Bingham¹⁷ and later Dr. G. P. Judd and Mr. Richards; they had established a great influence over the Chiefs, especially over Kaahumanu. The leaders of the secular group were Mr. John C. Jones, the American Consul, and Captain Charlton, the British Consul, both of whom were trading consuls, that is, they were not occupied solely with official duties but bought and sold just as other merchants and traders did.

The character of the British Consul was quite unsuited to the task in hand. He was of the hard-drinking, hard-swearing squireen type of Englishman. The American Consul, too, was no saint. The majority of the traders believed that the influence of the missionaries was used against them, thus cutting down the opportunities of large profits. Some information of the activities of the missionary party is to be found in the journal of a Mr. Stephen Reynolds, the American Harbor Master, who kept a diary from 1823 onwards. Despite the denial made before Lord Byron by Mr. Bingham that the missionaries did not desire to rule, remarks by this diarist prove that they did

interfere frequently. Thus on December 10 and 11, 1825, we find the following entries:

Bingham at Pitt's (Kalaimoku) with Kaahumanu trying to have the laws of his country put into force. Boki opposed him, told him he would not let him have anything to say about the laws. K. said she was a lone woman; of course, could do nothing.

December 11th. Bingham preached against Pitt and Boki for not putting his laws into effect.

In 1832 Kaahumanu died and immediately we find a decline in the missionary influence and perhaps a corresponding increase in the influence of Charlton. Kaahumanu was succeeded by Kinau, a daughter of Kamehameha the Great, but in March, 1833, the Consul reported that the King¹⁸ had called the Chiefs together and informed them that it was his intention to take the reins of Government into his own hands and that he would give them such laws as were best calculated for the good government of the islands in their then state. The Consul thought that some difficulties might arise as Kinau was unwilling to relinquish authority, while the King seemed determined that she should. The Chiefs were said to be in his favor.

¹⁷ Bingham was dubbed "King Bingham" by his opponents, so great was his influence.

¹⁸ Kamehameha the III.

ANNEX I—1831

Vessel's name	Tons.	Under which flag.	Name of owner	Owner's nat.	In what trade.
Louisa	221	Am:	P. French & Co.	Am:	California
Volunteer	256	"	"	"	"
Chenchilly	1471	"	"	"	Fiji Islands
Sutten	285	"	"	"	China
Chum	45	"	"	"	Among Isles
Convoy	147	"	Z. C. Quin	"	California
Washington	52	"	"	"	"
Harriett	78	"	"	"	Fiji Islands
Unity	67	S. Is.	P. French & Co.	"	Among Isles
Dhaulti	182	"	G. White	British	Low Isles
Griffen	182	"	"	"	N. W. Coast of America
Treves	29	"	"	"	Burnt at Low Is.
Alphu	101	"	Chief Lawli	"	Fiji Islands
Neo	148	"	Kuakini	San. Is.	Among Isles
Waverly	147	"	Kaahumanu	"	"
Boston	22	"	Kuakini	"	"
Keakea	20	"	Pikoi	"	"
Paalua	54	"	Kaahumanu	"	"
Pakii	64	"	Hoapeli	"	"
Palalau	48	"	Kenopu	"	"
Karamuku	119	"	"	"	"
Packet	39	"	Nahuna	"	"
Papipi	38	"	Teanonni	"	"
Byny	30	"	Nahi	"	"

Map showing tract of land (rectangular piece near wharf, marked off with dotted lines), which Captain Richard Charlton, British consul general, claimed had been given to him by Kalai-moku, high chief and right hand man of Kamehameha I. Original in the British Consulate, Honolulu.

1. Brinsmade, Ladd & Co.
2. Brinsmade, Ladd & Co. wharf
3. Grimes Store, American
4. Hudson Bay Co.
5. Joe Booth's saloon
6. Native houses
7. Straw houses used as fish market
8. Stephen Reynolds' Store, American
9. Native thatched houses
10. Mr. and Mrs. John Paty
11. Two-story building with lookout
12. Seamen's chapel
13. Pierce & Brewer
14. Small wooden buildings
15. Empty lot 16. Sheds 17. French & Co.
18. Henry Skinner & Co.
19. James Robinson & Co.
20. Old fort and residence Governor Kekuaonoa
21. Hale Kauwila, Government House
22. Mauna Kilika, Government House
23. Residence, Kekauouli
24. John Cummins Store
25. Sung & Co. bakery
26. Store 27. Anton Silva
28. C. H. Nicholson, tailor
29. E. C. Webster Store
30. Robert Davis, American
31. Residence, High Chiefs Paki and Konia
32. Residence, High Chiefs Paki and Konia
33. Judge Robertson's residence
34. James Jackson Jarvis
35. Residence, Princess Victoria
36. Residence, William Sumner
37. Scattered native houses
38. Residence, Mr. Skinner, Englishman
39. Father Damon
40. John Colcord, blacksmith
41. Residence, Charles Brewer
42. Mr. Jones
43. Roman Catholic Church
44. Captain John O. Dominis
45. French Hotel
46. Dr. R. W. Wood .47. Stove
48. Alexander Adams, Englishman
49. Captain Dowsett, Englishman
50. Odd Fellows Hall
51. George Pelly 52. William Wond
53. Captain and Mrs. J. O. Carter
54. William French residence
55. Hawaii Theater
56. Residence, Chief Kao and Lahialihi
57. Residence, Chief Haalealea
58. Captain Dominis residence; now Washington Place (residence, governors of Hawaii)
59. American missionary houses



Apparently Kinau¹⁹ refused to surrender the Fort of Honolulu and the King left for the other side of Oahu. Before leaving he addressed to the English Consul the following letter:

Where are you O Consul, Love to you.

This is my word to you. I am going from hence you will remain with all the foreigners let all the British Subjects hear what I say respecting our affairs. I say to you watch hereafter that which is entangled. All that also which is not right. Be you there and see who is right according to your opinion. Also all my affairs I give into your keeping. You understand what I say, look to it until I return.

I think of nothing more. Love to all the British subjects and to all the foreign ladies.

(Signed) I THE KING,
KAUIKEAOULI.

The contents of this letter appear to show that the Consul was at this time on excellent terms with the King. If we turn again to the journal of Mr. Reynolds, we find this decline in missionary influence exemplified by his remarks. On January 10, 1833, it is noted that kite-flying had been prohibited for years, along with all other games, and it was allowed then for the first time in a long time past; in fact the year 1833 in the journal is full of notes regarding the revival of hula dancing, *maika* (stone rolling) and festive parties, much to the satisfaction, says the journalist, of the natives and traders, but vigorously opposed by Mr. Bingham, who wrote to the King and Kinau saying that they must not dance. The missionaries worked hard to regain their influence. On March 25, 1833, says the diarist, Mr. Bingham gave a "brimstone sermon" to the natives, and apparently a steady diet of such sermons gained the day, for in 1835 the King and Chiefs signed again the pledge to abstain from strong liquor. During the intervening years sharp clashes took place, not only with the British Consul, but also with the American, for on January 23, 1835, we are informed that all the American residents had requested their Consul to send for a ship-of-war "to settle the affairs of this country." The inquisitorial attitude of the missionaries is shown in a curious entry dated September 25, 1835, as follows:

Mr. Richard Charlton received a letter from Miriam Auhea (the big mouth Queen), Governess of the Fort, to repair there. When there,

he was told a tax would be laid on all people above a certain height, to be paid on January 1st, 1836. The Governess told Charlton Mr. Bingham had recommended the measure in order to find out how many foreigners' children there were on the island.

Whether due to American influence or not, it is certain that instead of remaining good or getting better, the relations of Charlton with the Hawaiian King and his Chiefs grew worse and worse and the chance opened to him in 1833 seems to have been lost. In 1827 Catholic missionaries had also arrived and been allowed to land by Boki, the Governor of Oahu, but not at the instance of Charlton as claimed by missionary writers. The archives of the Consulate are clear on that point. But the action of Boki was not approved by the King who, urged by the American missionaries, ordered the deportation of the new arrivals. They left but returned again on the British Brig *Clementine*; force was used again to eject them, to which Charlton, quite correctly, objected but instead of acting judiciously he engaged in all kinds of threats. In 1836, as a result of repeated requests from Charlton for aid, Lord Edward Russell arrived on board *H.M.S. Acteon* and an attempt was made to force on Hawaii an unequal treaty, resulting in the King of Hawaii addressing a letter of complaint to King William IV asking for the recall of Charlton. A second request was sent in October, 1837, containing a long account of the *Clementine* affair. From then on the relations of England, or rather of Charlton, with Hawaii, went from bad to worse, each side trying to annoy the other. The Hawaiians took up several legal cases in which Charlton was interested, giving decisions which he claimed to be unfair, while at the same time they began to imprison British subjects often on frivolous complaints. None of these things done were very important in themselves but Charlton was not gifted with patience or the ability to conciliate. He decided to take strong measures. He himself brought up a claim to a tract of land which he said had been given to him in 1826 by Kalaimoku, and when the King refused not only to recognize the deed, but sent commissioners to England to complain of his conduct, he

¹⁹ To Foreign Office No. 5 of October 12, 1833.

posted off in hot haste to England to lay all the various causes of discontent before the British Government. Before he left, he sent a long account to the British Admiral in the Pacific and appointed a Mr. Alexander Simpson acting Consul during his absence.

Now the King of Hawaii, although correctly informed of this appointment by Charlton, refused to recognize Mr. Simpson as British Consul. This created a feeling of insecurity in the British Colony, which held a meeting of

protest. The protest, together with a letter²⁰ from Mr. Simpson, was sent to Admiral Thomas, then in South American waters. The Admiral dispatched a British man-of-war, *H.M.S. Carysfort*, under the command of Lord George Paulet²¹ to investigate and, if necessary, to restore British prestige. According to Mr. Simpson, the property of British subjects had been taken from them by absurd and unjust decisions of

²⁰ To Admiral Thomas October 29, 1842.

²¹ See Annex No. II for copy of his instructions.

ANNEX II

(January 17th, 1843.)

British Public Record Office
Admiralty, 1/5531.

By Richard Thomas, Esquire
Rear Admiral of the White,
and Commander in Chief of
Her Majesty's Ships and
Vessels employed, and to
be employed in the Pacific

You are hereby required and directed to put to Sea in Her Majesty's Ship *Carysfort* under your command and proceed without delay in the first instance to Woahoo Sandwich Islands where you will put yourself in communication with Her Majesty's Consul, for the purpose of affording him support in case he should require the same, for the more effectual performance of his duties, in watching over and protecting the interests of British Subjects.

You will take an opportunity during your stay at the Sandwich Islands, of having an interview with the King, and of assuring His Majesty that it was with pleasure I learnt His Majesty had been advised to send one of His Subjects to England on an Embassy, the result of which will prove that the desire felt in that Country to foster, and encourage mutual commercial intercourse with the Sandwich Islands, arises solely from a wish to communicate to young and rising communities the benefits which an extensive commerce invariably carries with it. . . . (This is followed by instructions concerning the Society Islands, the alteration in the Tahiti flag, etc.)

In the performance of these several duties you will be guided by the spirit of My General Instructions, bearing in mind that the protection of British Subjects in the lawful pursuit of their Commercial Transactions is more particularly an object of your care.

You will not remain at Tahiti longer than will leave you time sufficient to ensure your arrival at Valparaiso by the 31st May 1843.

Dated on board the "Dublin"
at San Blas, this 17th day of
January 1843.

RICHARD THOMAS

To
The Right Honorable
Lord George Paulet
Captain of Her Majesty's
Ship *Carysfort*.

(January 18th, 1843.)

By Richard Thomas, Esquire
Rear Admiral of the White,
and Commander in Chief of
Her Majesty's Ships and
Vessels employed, and to
be employed in the Pacific

With reference to my Order of the 17th Inst. directing you to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, I enclose the Copy of a letter addressed to Mr. Barron, Her Majesty's Consul at Tepic by Mr. Simpson, Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Woahoo, wherein it would appear that the Government has, in the absence of Her Majesty's Consul, Mr. Charlton, upon a frivolous pretext attached the property of that Gentleman, and expressed a determination to proceed to the sale of it; should you find such to be the case you will peremptorily demand of the Government, that the property so unjustly seized contrary to the Law of Nations (under whose more especial protection Her Majesty's Consul is placed) shall be forthwith restored and acquaint them that the Government of Great Britain will hold that of the Sandwich Islands responsible for the marked want of respect, which has been shewn to the Queen of Great Britain in taking advantage of the absence of Her Representative to sequester his property, and annoy his unprotected Family on the plea of a transaction which does not even appear to have transpired within the jurisdiction of those Islands,—and which even if it had, not being of a Criminal nature, the Office he holds ought to have exempted him from or otherwise he would not be at liberty to acquit himself of his duties.

Given on board the "Dublin"
at San Blas, this 18th day of
January 1843.

RICHARD THOMAS
Rear Admiral.

To
The Right Honorable
Lord George Paulet
Captain of Her Majesty's
Ship *Carysfort*.

the native Government, and their persons subjected in several instances to imprisonment without any just cause; his interference on their behalf was disregarded and even his right to perform the functions delegated to him by H.B.M. Consul denied; even the consular premises had been invaded and the property of the Consul himself attached. This had not, he said, been the action of the King and Chiefs themselves but they had been counselled and impelled thereto by American citizens, who held offices nominally subordinate, but who really exercised the whole sway in the islands.

Lord George Paulet took immediate action. He refused to deal with Dr. Judd, the leading American in the employ of the King, but demanded the immediate recognition of Mr. Simpson as Consul and the restoration of the Consul's property. To this the King perforce acceded and relations showed signs of improvement. The King and Queen visited *H.M.S. Carysfort*, the

size of the Queen eliciting much comment from the sailors as she was shown over the vessel.

The strong character of Dr. Judd, however, was not to be denied and he drew Lord Paulet into negotiations vigorously defending the actions of the King. Believing too much, perhaps, in all the statements of the British subjects on the spot, Lord Paulet also showed considerable obstinacy. The King felt quite unable to face the situation; harassed and worn out by argument, he longed for ease and quiet, and on the advice of Dr. Judd, who was confident that England would not accept, he ceded the islands provisionally to Queen Victoria until such time as word could be heard from London, whither he sent secretly an envoy to lay his case before the British Government. •

The act of provisional cession was dated February 25, 1843, and from that date until July 31, 1843, Hawaii was ruled by a British commission. The members were four in number, being

ANNEX III

October 4th.

1842.

F. O. 58/3.

Viscount Canning,
Under Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs.

Considering the increasing importance to Great Britain of many of the islands in the Pacific, and especially of the Sandwich and Society Islands, both in a naval and commercial point of view, Lord Aberdeen* is desirous of impressing on the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the expediency of a more frequent intercourse between Great Britain and those Islands, by the visits of ships of war, than has hitherto been maintained.

(It appears from Captain Jones' letter to Admiral Thomas that British trade in the Sandwich Islands had increased in the last three years from \$20,000 to \$150,000 annually, and that at the time of his arrival there, two years had elapsed since a British Ship of War had visited those Islands.)

Lord Aberdeen is of the opinion that such an increase of trade alone would justify the more frequent appearance of British ships of war in those parts. It would also tend to maintain the just influence of Great Britain, and to counterbalance the efforts which are now making by other Powers, to establish a dominant authority in the islands of the Pacific.

Should the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty concur in opinion with Lord Aberdeen on this point, I am directed further to suggest, that the Admiral or officer in command on the Pacific Station, should be instructed to direct all commanders of Her Majesty's Ships of War who might be ordered to visit those islands, to

treat their rulers with great forbearance and courtesy, and, at the same time, that those officers afford efficient protection to aggrieved British Subjects, not to interfere harshly or unnecessarily with the laws and customs of the respective Governments.

The object of Her Majesty's Government in increasing their connexion with the chiefs of those islands, ought, in the opinion of Lord Aberdeen, to be rather to strengthen those authorities and to give them a sense of their own independence, by leaving the administration of justice in their own hands, than to make them feel their dependence on Foreign Powers, by interfering unnecessarily in every matter in which a foreign subject is concerned, and to compel those rulers by peremptory menace, or a show of physical force, to render to foreign subjects that measure of justice which may appear to the aggrieved person, or to the officer who steps forward in his behalf, to be his due.

This general forbearance would not, however, preclude British officers from making firm and energetic efforts to obtain redress in cases of real grievance.

I am further to observe that Lord Aberdeen does not think it advantageous or politic, to seek to establish a paramount influence for Great Britain in those Islands, at the expense of that enjoyed by other Powers. All that appears to his Lordship to be required, is, that no other Power should exercise a greater degree of influence than that possessed by Great Britain.

To

Sir John Barrow,
Second Secretary of the Admiralty.

* Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Lord Paulet himself; a local resident, Mr. D. F. Mackay; Lt. Frere of *H.M.S. Carysfort* and Dr. G. P. Judd as deputy for the King of Hawaii. The Chief Commissioner issued a proclamation that existing laws were to remain in force, and that the government of the natives would be entrusted to the King. The Commission seems to have accomplished little of note. Much time was devoted to the hearing of land claims by British subjects. A native regiment was formed, known as the "Queen's Own" and drilled by the drill sergeant of *H.M.S. Carysfort*. In contravention of the agreement made with the King the Commission annulled the blue law prescribing penalties for fornication, and another forbidding hard riding, with the result that Dr. Judd resigned and the King had no representative during the remainder of the period of British rule.

In April, 1843, Admiral Thomas received through the Admiralty a statement²² of British policy enjoining on British officers in the Pacific the greatest forbearance and courtesy towards the native rulers of all the islands in the Pacific, and especially of the Sandwich and Society Islands. As a consequence he decided to visit Honolulu himself. He arrived there in July and after a short investigation concluded that there had been no valid reason for the cession. He immediately informed the King that it was his intention to restore the Hawaiian flag. Articles were drawn up by which Hawaii guaranteed in future fair treatment to British subjects, and in cases of trials²³ that the jury should be composed in half of British subjects. The Act of restoration took place on July 31, 1843, a day ever after celebrated by Hawaiians as a holiday.

In London the representatives of Hawaii, Messrs. Richards and Haalilio, were in conference at the Foreign Office, where also Captain Charlton was in attendance. The whole ground was gone over carefully, more care perhaps being given to it than the importance of the cases deserved, but the Government was actuated by a great desire to be just and liberal to a small nation just

emerging, so to speak, from obscurity.

Out of five points in dispute a decision in three was given in favor of Hawaii, one was declared to have already been settled satisfactorily by the payment of a sum of money to the British subject injured, while on the fifth point, that of the land claim of Charlton, his claim was supported provided his title deed could be shown to be genuine.

The question of Charlton's land has occupied a place in the early relations of Hawaii out of proportion to its importance. This was because pro-missionary writers in order to discredit the British party have exaggerated the question and even accused the Consul of forging his title deed! The deed to the land was dated December 9, 1826, and was countersigned by Boki, the Governor of Oahu, and Marin²⁴, the Spaniard, high in favor with the Hawaiian Chiefs. The King of Hawaii did not apparently deny the whole grant of land; he admitted that the residential portion known as "Beretania" was a grant made, he said, verbally, to provide the British Consul with a residence; he also allowed that a portion of the land covered by the deed, on the waterside, was also a verbal grant for

²⁴ Don Francisco de Paula Marin came to Hawaii in 1790 and became a close adviser of Kamehameha I. From California he introduced plants and seeds, seeking to establish agricultural pursuits; he died on October 30, 1837.

ANNEX IV

British Consulate,
Honolulu.
September 26th, 1843

Sir:

I herewith forward you, as below, a List of British subjects residing on this Island, whom I consider eligible to sit as jurymen, in accordance with a letter received on the 21st instant from Dr. Judd, stating that Your Excellency required to be furnished with a list of such respectable British subjects as I might approve of as Jurymen.

I have the honour to be, Sir, etc., etc.
(Signed) H. SEA.
Acting Consul.

To His Excellency
Governor Kekuanao'a.

Henry Skinner, John Robson, George Pelly, I. C. B. Rooke, George Allen, James Robinson, George Wilkinson, Isaac Montgomery, James Austen, G. H. Bush, Andrew Auld, Wm. Hornblower, Robert Lawrence, F. D. Greenway, A. Johnson, H. S. Swinton, Joseph Booth, A. Adams, W. Sumner, Sr., I. Mitchener, William Wond, E. Dennis, George Anttenden, John Robinson.

²² See Annex No. III.

²³ See Annex No. IV for list of Jurymen recommended in 1843.

space to build an office but he denied that the rest, the part back from the waterfront, was included²⁵.

In the presence of Lord Paulet, Mr. Simpson and Dr. Judd, the King examined the deed and acknowledged it by countersigning it. Neither he nor Dr. Judd even suggested to Lord Paulet that the signature might have been forged, as was alleged subsequently in 1844.

The origin of the charge of forgery seems to have been a letter from Mr. Richards, the ex-missionary, appointed as the King's representative in London. On hearing the decision of the British Government, he had made further representations based on the claim that Kalaimoku had never had the power to give away the land claimed, which belonged to the Dowager Queen, so he said. Not even then did he put forward to the Foreign Office the idea that the signatures had been forged²⁶. Once more the British Government in concert with their legal advisers, reopened the case, but again decided in favor of Charlton.

Mr. Richards, thus defeated, had to make his report of failure to the King. Although successful in obtaining the restoration of the country's independence, he seems to have been much disappointed at losing his point regarding Charlton's land. In his letter to the King, dated September 30, 1843, he mitigates the failure to succeed in that matter and raises the hopes of the King by saying:

It will be necessary for your Majesty to show, if possible, that the lease was not signed by Kalaimoku and Boki.

In this way he laid the ground for a charge of forgery to be brought against Charlton, which has persisted in all writers on the missionary side to this

day. The successor of Captain Charlton, a General William Miller, was instructed to verify the deed on his arrival. He arrived in February, 1844, obtained the deed from Mrs. Charlton and showed it to various persons known to be familiar with the signatures, all of whom declared them to be genuine. At the first interview early in March with Dr. Judd, the deed was produced but again no suggestion was made to General Miller that the deed was a forgery, obviously because at that time the letter from Mr. Richards had not arrived; it was not in fact received until April, when the first efforts were begun on the Hawaiian side to prove the signatures false. General Miller stuck to his guns, certain that the signatures were genuine. In the diary of Mr. Reynolds²⁷ is the statement that he was of the opinion that the deed bore evidences of genuineness and it must be remembered that he was a living witness of the events.

The Hawaiian Ministers attempted to bring up all sorts of extraneous points regarding the former ownership of the land and the right of Kalaimoku to make such grants, alleging that he never was Regent of Hawaii. The best answer to the last point would have been the marriage certificate signed before Mr. Bingham on July 28, 1825, by Kalaimoku and Akahi, his wife, specifically describing himself as Regent, for surely no better authority could have existed, but other documents were found and used²⁸. The case dragged on until August, 1846, when the Government of Hawaii definitely abandoned their last caveat against the tenure of the land, which had been handed over to Charlton in August, 1845, on the demand of General Miller. At this last investigation, made in August, 1846, in the presence of Admiral Sir George Seymour, the King of Hawaii definitely absolved Captain Charlton from the charge of forging²⁹ the signature to the title deed, and it is ungracious and ungenerous of subsequent writers to ignore this fact.

²⁷ See Reynolds's Journal, 1844.

²⁸ See to F. O. January 21, 1847; subsequently a witness was found who heard Kalaimoku inform Kahamānu that he had given this land to Charlton.

²⁹ See the opinion of the King dated September 1, 1846.

²⁵ See plan (page 204) an interesting sketch of Honolulu in 1843.

²⁶ See decision of law officers of the Crown, dated London, September 7th, 1843: "The first point which suggests itself for consideration is the authenticity of the document on which the claim is founded. I do not find that the genuineness of the deed by which the land purports to be granted, is at all disputed by the King of the Sandwich Islands, or by the persons now acting as commissioners on his behalf. It is not denied by them that the name Kalaimoku subscribed to the grant is the real signature of the person by whom it purports to have been executed, nor is it pretended that fraud or imposition was practiced upon Kalaimoku by the substitution of one paper for another or that he was ignorant of the contents of the instrument or constrained to sign it against his own wish or inclination."



General William Miller, British consul-general for the Pacific Islands, 1843-61, from the frontispiece of *The Memoirs of General William Miller In the Services of the Republic of Peru*, edited by John Miller, London, 1829.



Beretania Cottages, the residence and office of Gen. William Miller.—Reproduced by courtesy of Clarence H. Cooke

Moreover, despite the abuse heaped on Charlton by pro-missionary historians, there is much evidence to show that by a large number of chiefs Charlton was not disliked. In 1838 Captain Elliot of *H.M.S. Fly* had been asked to make a report on him, and described him as of a frank, open and generous disposition, but as indulging in the imprudence of expressing violent opinions. He had a perfect knowledge of consular duties and great zeal but, owing to American influence, had no power though he had an intimate knowledge of the natives and a deep acquaintance with the language.

Miller also reported in a letter dated September 5, 1846, that he had reminded the Government of the Sandwich Islands that Captain Charlton was always a generous and kind-hearted man, and although he might not have been on good terms with a party of respectable individuals of the islands, because he considered that they exercised undue political influence or from other causes, he was, notwithstanding, highly esteemed by the Chiefs and natives in general.

That Charlton³⁰ was also popular with the trading classes except for one or two personal enemies, such as George

Pelly of the Hudson Bay Co., is clear because on occasions when the community met as a whole, he was nearly always elected to the Chair. He was, for instance, chairman of the meeting which decided in August, 1832, to found the Oahu Charity School for the education of the children of residents. An Englishman, Mr. Johnstone, was the master of this school.

It is probable, too, that the enmity of the Hudson Bay Company was partly responsible for Charlton's loss of influence with the King of Hawaii. On his first arrival the Consul had been agent for this company; but after the visit of Sir George Simpson, the London director, the company opened its own office. Its agents seem to have opposed Charlton in the community and, in 1843, even refused to sign with other British traders the general petition to the Foreign Office asking for aid and protection. Quoting from the letter covering its transmission, just before the arrival of Lord George Paulet, signed by all British traders except two, *viz*: the agents of the Hudson Bay Company, the reason for their abstention was "that that . . . body had cast its longing eyes on the beautiful archipelago, and by making large advances of money to the King and Chiefs, had endeavoured

³⁰ See Reynold's Journal, August 20, 1832.

to obtain an influence and control over them." The company had indeed loaned the King £10,000 at 12 per cent.

To end the story of Charlton's land, after it was restored to him, he sold the portion on the waterfront to Mr. R. C. Janion who, with another Englishman, Mr. James Starkey of Bold & Starkey, Liverpool, founded the firm of Starkey, Janion and Company in 1845, which later became Janion, Green and Company. In 1868 Mr. Theo. Davies³¹, one of their employees, was admitted as a partner and the name of the firm was changed to Theo. H. Davies and Company. Mr. Starkey was originally a supercargo on a sailing vessel trading to Hawaii and was present when Captain Charlton attempted to horsewhip Mr. James J. Jarves³², the editor of the Government newspaper, *The Polynesian*, who attacked the Consul in his columns. This occurrence might well account for the venom with which Jarves, as a historian, has dealt with Charlton.

Another portion of Charlton's land came into possession of Captain Dominis, the famous American resident, whose son married Lydia, later Queen Liliuokalani, and who built the present Washington Place on Beretania Street, now the residence of the governors of Hawaii. The same Captain Dominis, acting for the Government, also bought the house of Charlton but it was resold to General Miller on his protesting that its purchase over his head was an unfriendly act. General Miller much improved the property, which he used both for house and office, calling it "Beretania Cottage," from which the street takes its name. On his death in 1861 it was let by his niece, who inherited it, to Mr. Samuel Dowsett, a British subject, who had come to Hawaii in 1828. Subsequently it was sold and the site now forms part of the grounds of Washington Place at the corner of Miller Street, that street, of course, taking its name from General Miller.

When making their decision to restore Hawaii to its King in 1843, the

British Government recognized that Captain Charlton³³ was not a fit person to continue to represent them, and accordingly they made the new appointment. At the same time they made it clear that they were not entirely satisfied that British subjects had always received just treatment at the hands of the Hawaiian Government by stating clearly in their letter to that Government's representatives in London that the new Consul-General must have access to the King at all times and that British subjects were to be treated in future as well as other nationals.

The commission of Captain Charlton had covered not only the Hawaiian Islands but also the Friendly and Society Islands. In 1837 his district had been reduced to include only the Hawaiian Islands, an independent Consul having in that year been appointed to reside at Tahiti. The growing importance of British interests in the Pacific now demanded more attention and, accordingly, it was decided to name a Consul-General with jurisdiction over all the Pacific Islands. For this important appointment the British Government chose General William Miller. General Miller had been at one time in the service of Peru and fought in the wars of liberation of that country from the yoke of Spain; he had risen to the rank of Grand Marshal of Peru and took a prominent part in the victories of Junin and Ayacucho. He was not unfamiliar with the Hawaiian Islands, having visited them in 1831 when he had made a tour of the Pacific.

General Miller was the first Consul *de carriere* to be appointed to Hawaii, Captain Charlton having been, as already stated, a trading Consul with a limited salary. The salary of General Miller was fixed at £800 a year and he was restricted from trading. His district included the Sandwich Islands, Society, Friendly, and other Islands in the Pacific.

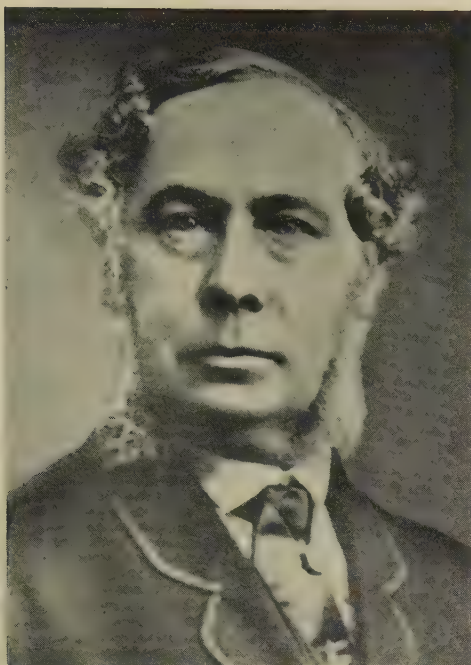
The instructions issued to General Miller³⁴ before his departure are highly interesting as containing the considered

³¹ Mr. Davies was for many years British Vice Consul in which office he was succeeded by his partners, Thomas Rain Walker and Francis Mills Swanzy and by his sons Mr. Clive Davies and Mr. George Davies.

³² See *Polynesian*, March 1, 1841.

³³ Charlton returned to Hawaii in 1844 to settle up his affairs and departed in 1846 for England, where he lived at Falmouth; he died on December 5, 1852.

³⁴ To Consul General Miller No. 7, of September 28, 1843.



Consul-General Richard Charlton sold a portion of his property to Robert C. Janion, above, who, with James Starkey, right, founded Starkey, Janion & Co., 1845. 1868, Theophilus H. Davies, below, an employee, was admitted as a partner, and the firm name changed to Theo. H. Davies & Co., today one of the largest mercantile houses in Hawaii.

views of the British Government on the state of affairs in the islands, based on reports from Captain Charlton and visiting British Naval officers. The Sandwich Islands, said Lord Aberdeen, then British Minister for Foreign Affairs, were scarcely more than nominally governed by a native sovereign and native chiefs. Citizens of the United States were in fact the virtual rulers and directors of the Government. The constitution and the laws were framed and administered by Americans, and American missionaries in like manner directed the affairs of the Church and kept, as it were, the consciences of the King, the Chiefs and the native subjects.

It was obvious that the King and his native counsellors could of themselves have possessed little capacity for devising a constitution or code of laws like those of the Sandwich Islands, and could have as little practical ability for administering them.

It had, however, fairly to be admitted that great credit was due to those American missionaries who, by their



pious and unwearied labors, first introduced the lights of Christianity and civilization into the Islands. Nor ought an equal share of credit to be withheld from those who, following up the advantages thus originally conferred by

the missionaries, had brought the islanders, however imperfectly as yet, under subjection to a regular administrative system.

The English had no right to entertain jealousy of the influence thus honorably acquired by the Americans amongst the Hawaiians, but it had been sufficiently evident that a great jealousy had prevailed between the English and Americans established in the islands. It was difficult to say on which side the most embittered feelings had been exhibited. It had to be confessed that if on the side of the Americans a tendency to domineer and to avail themselves unfairly of their influence with the native Government had been not infrequently visible, the conduct of the English residents had certainly not been marked either by prudence or by a spirit of conciliation. In fact it had been as nearly as possible the reverse of what good sense and good policy would have dictated.

Such, in the opinion of the British Government, was the situation. General Miller was advised not to strive openly against the American domination but to seek to conciliate them, not by any unbecoming subserviency but simply by observing towards them a proper courtesy of demeanor and by giving them a fair credit for the good which they were doing. At the same time, English residents should seek, by propriety of conduct, fair dealing and steady observance of the laws, when justly administered, to inspire all persons, whether native or foreign, with confidence and respect. Should a palpable injustice be done to a British subject, that injustice would have to be repaired without delay or subterfuge. Care was, therefore, to be taken to impress this necessity constantly on the minds of the sovereign and Chiefs as well as on those persons in whose hands the Government was practically placed.

But on no occasion was intemperate language or disrespectful demeanor to be indulged in either towards the Chiefs or towards the subordinate officers of the Government. By every honorable means the Consul General was to gain the ear and confidence of the sovereign of the country and of his most influential advisers. By this course would be

obtained, without the necessity of official representation, the correction of many an act which, if not at once stopped, might lead to altercation and a disturbance of friendly relations. When the British residents saw that the principal British authority assumed a temperate and courteous tone and bearing towards the Sovereign and his advisers, they would not be long in following his lead. In due time a kindly feeling and a spirit of good fellowship would be substituted for the acrimonious and unconciliating sentiments and demeanor which had so long prevailed on both sides, and to which in great part, if not entirely, was to be attributed the differences which had arisen between the two countries.

General Miller arrived at Oahu on February 3, 1844, on board *H. M. S. Hazard*. He found that the British admiral in the Pacific, Admiral Thomas, had, as already related, forestalled him and, acting on his standing general instructions to encourage the independence of all Pacific Islands, restored the independence of Hawaii to its King in a simple ceremony on the site of Thomas Square in modern Honolulu, named by the Hawaiians after their benefactor. Nevertheless much detail remained to be settled besides the question of Charlton's land, which has already been related.

When England settled its differences with Hawaii, she proposed to the Governments of France and the United States a mutual pledge never on any grounds, or pretext, to take possession of the Islands. The former agreed but the latter refused to acquiesce, preferring to give her own assurance in another form to Hawaii. With him, General Miller brought a new treaty to submit for the perusal and approval of the King of Hawaii. The terms of this Treaty were more or less the same as one that the Kingdom of Hawaii had signed with France in 1839, which was rather one sided, containing a provision that French subjects could only be tried in criminal courts before a jury selected by the French Consul.

As soon as he had completed the negotiations for this Treaty, General Miller found it necessary to leave for Tahiti, where his presence was needed

owing to the situation created by the seizure of the Society Islands by France. He left Honolulu in July 1844 and returned in April 1845. During his absence, he left a Scotchman, Mr. R. C. Wyllie, in charge of British interests as Pro-Consul.

According to a note in the Consular Archives, General Miller first met Mr. Wyllie in Chile in 1818 where, after ceasing to exercise the medical profession to which he belonged, Mr. Wyllie had entered into mercantile pursuits. From then until 1840 the two scarcely met, but in that year Mr. Wyllie, having returned to England a rich man, called on General Miller in Welbeck street and finding him ill, fetched a specialist, Sir James Clarke, who saved the General's life. This event gave rise to a friendly feeling towards Mr. Wyllie, whom General Miller termed to be a kind and obliging man. The next meeting took place in Mexico in 1843, when General Miller was on his way to the Hawaiian Islands to take up his appointment as British Consul General in the Pacific. Mr. Wyllie joined him and acted as his secretary; he was, said Miller, of great service despite his love of prolixity.

During the absence of the Consul General, Mr. Wyllie conducted a voluminous correspondence with Dr. G. P. Judd, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, mainly on the subject of Charlton's land, which had not been settled. He also used to publish trade and statistical notes in *The Friend*, a quasi-missionary publication, and used to urge the necessity of indentured labor to cultivate and develop vacant lands. He became very much *persona grata* with the missionary leaders and, on Miller's return, the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs was offered to and accepted by him. Dr. Judd, who instigated the change, became himself Minister of the Interior. The acceptance of this post by Mr. Wyllie must have meant a great change in his plans, because when writing on December 25, 1844, to the Consul General at Guatemala, he mentioned that he expected to eat his Christmas dinner in 1845 in London. Yet he never again saw his native land.

During General Miller's absence a

small matter of difference arose between Hawaii and England over a Code of Etiquette promulgated by the King of Hawaii on the advice of his American Ministers. Under this code the representative of Great Britain was to be placed permanently after that of the United States of America on the grounds that the latter country had been the first to recognize the independence of Hawaii. Apart from the fact itself being wrong, precedence among diplomats is governed by rank or date of presentation of credentials. Instructions were received from London to demand the withdrawal of this code. The demand was made by General Miller in August 1845 at the same time that he demanded the restitution of Charlton's land. Strange to say, Mr. Wyllie, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, vigorously opposed what he had formerly protested against when Pro-Consul and gave his acquiescence in what General Miller termed highly disrespectful terms.

The result of these two demands was a sudden outbreak of several petty cases against British subjects in the matter of their lands, which necessitated once more the intervention of a British Admiral to secure redress and a proper attention to the remonstrances of the British Consul General.

General Miller seems to have recognized immediately that the question of lands was to be a predominating influence in the fate of the Hawaiian race³⁵, which had been dwindling in numbers for years. Accordingly having settled the question of Charlton's land and the new Treaty, he made certain recommendations direct to the King. A perusal of these recommendations shows that, however acceptable to the King, they could not have been so to his Ministers and their presentation, so Miller tells us, was the main reason³⁶ for the official rancour, which existed for years between himself and the foreign Cabinet of the King.

The proposals of General Miller were:

³⁵ Captain King, who was with Captain Cook, estimated the population in 1778 at 400,000, but most writers consider this an overestimate by 100,000. In any case in 1832, the first census, the number had dwindled to 130,000, and in 1853 to 70,000.

³⁶ See to Lord Palmerston. April 30, 1847.

ANNEX V

Comparative View of the Commerce of the Sandwich Islands for 20 Years from 1846 to 1865, Giving the Totals Each Year

Year	Total Imports	Total Exports	Domestic Produce Exported	Foreign Merchandise Reexported	Total Custom House Receipts	Oil and Bone Transhipped			Nat. Vessels	Merchant Vessels		No. Whalers	Gallons Spirits Consumed
						Gallons Sperm	Gallons Whale	Lbs. Bone		No.	Tons		
1865	\$1,946,265.68	\$1,808,257.55	\$1,430,211.82	\$287,045.73	\$192,566.63	42,841	578,593	337,394	7	151	67,068	180*	11,745
1864	1,712,641.61	1,662,181.49	1,113,328.81	548,852.66	159,116.72	33,860	608,502	339,331	9	116	75,339	140	10,237
1863	1,175,493.25	1,025,852.74	744,413.54	281,439.20	122,752.68	56,687	675,344	337,043	7	88	42,930	102	7,862
1862	998,239.67	838,424.61	586,541.87	251,882.74	107,490.42	12,522	460,407	193,920	7	113	48,687	73	8,940
1861	761,109.57	659,774.72	476,872.74	182,901.98	100,115.56	20,435	795,988	527,910	7	94	45,962	190	9,676
1860	1,223,749.09	807,459.20	480,526.54	326,932.66	117,302.00	47,859	982,086	572,900	10	117	41,226	325	14,295
1859	1,555,558.74	931,321.27	628,575.21	302,754.66	132,129.37	156,360	1,668,175	1,147,120	5	139	59,241	549	14,158
1858	1,089,660.60	787,082.08	529,966.11	257,115.97	116,138.23	222,464	2,551,382	1,614,710	10	115	45,875	526	14,637
1857	1,134,165.40	645,526.10	423,303.91	222,222.91	140,777.03	176,306	2,018,027	1,295,325	10	82	26,817	387	16,144
1856	1,151,422.91	670,824.67	466,278.79	204,545.88	123,171.75	121,294	1,641,579	1,074,142	9	123	42,213	366	14,779
1855	1,383,169.87	572,601.49	274,741.67	297,858.82	158,411.90	109,308	1,436,810	872,954	13	154	51,304	468	18,318
1854	1,590,837.71	585,122.67	274,029.70	311,092.97	152,125.58	156,484	1,683,922	1,479,678	16	125	47,288	525	17,537
1853	1,401,974.86	472,996.83	281,599.17	191,397.66	155,650.17	175,396	3,787,348	2,020,264	7	211	59,451	535	18,123
1852	759,868.54	638,395.20	257,251.69	381,142.51	113,001.93	173,490	1,182,738	3,159,951	3	235	61,065	519	14,150
1851	1,823,821.68	691,231.49	309,828.91	381,402.55	160,602.19	104,362	909,379	901,604	7	446	87,920	220	9,500
1850	1,035,058.70	783,052.35	536,522.63	246,529.72	121,506.73	.....	.....	.....	12	469	90,304	237	8,252
1849	729,839.44	477,845.81	279,734.74	198,602.07	83,231.32	.....	.....	.....	12	180	.....	274	5,717
1848	605,618.73	300,370.98	366,819.43	33,551.55	55,568.94	.....	.....	.....	6	90	.....	254	3,443
1847	710,138.52	264,226.63	209,018.53	57,208.67	48,801.25	.....	.....	.....	4	71	.....	167	3,271
1846	589,382.24	363,750.74	621,625.60	62,325.74	56,506.64	.....	.....	.....	17	65	.....	.....	6,491

* These figures give the Number of Custom House Entries of Whalers at various ports—some of the vessels entering several ports during the year.

1. That every native who has, and brings up one legitimate child, shall be exempt from the onerous tax of personal labor, which is now performed gratis for the chiefs and the State.

2. That every native that has two such children and brings them up, shall at once be put in possession of a piece of land amply sufficient for their sustenance to be held by them or their heirs for ever, under a transferable title with the sanction of your Government.

3. That in proportion as the numbers of these children should increase, so should the grant of land to the parents be augmented.

The object of this proposal was to create a middle class of people, good and loyal subjects, who would ever be grateful and faithful to the King, adding to his wealth and power. It is clear from the above that General Miller recognized the danger that would arise unless some means were devised by which the people could make a reasonable livelihood and at the same time be protected against the loss of land once obtained. For this reason he suggested the condition the land be transferable only with the sanction of the Government. It is such a provision as this by which the lands of the Maoris and Fijians have been preserved intact to some extent. The idea did not appeal to the foreign advisers and no safeguard was ever inserted in the land laws, with the result that when the Great *Mahele* (land division) did take place, and the Chiefs and people did obtain ownership of lands, they often sold them and lost their means of sustenance.

Hawaii has had extraordinary good fortune in the rotation of its commerce. First it was the fur trade, then the sandalwood export and, when the latter was near exhaustion, the discovery of large whale fisheries in the north Pacific made the Islands a base of supplies for the American and English whaling fleets, thus providing work and opportunity to the people. A comparative statement³⁷ is annexed showing the importance of the whalers to Hawaii between 1846 and 1865 when, due to the discovery of petroleum, the use of whale oil for lighting purposes was abandoned. But when the business in supplying the whalers began to wane, the sugar industry was beginning to get on its feet, so that on each occasion new sources of income were found to

fill the gap left by dying industries.

Incidentally, the advent of whalers from which seamen were being continually discharged, sick or injured, made necessary adequate provision for their care. A mission to seamen was commenced in 1833 by an American parson named Rev. John Diell, who was succeeded later in 1841 by the Rev. S. C. Damon, known as Father Damon. In 1833 Captain Charlton proposed to the British Admiralty, which then had supervision over all seamen, to establish in Honolulu a hospital for British seamen, but this was not done until 1845 when a British subject, encouraged by General Miller, built a hospital in Pauoa Valley, which received the name of "Little Greenwich". A few years later General Miller himself bought 30 acres of land at Pawaa, near Waikiki, where he constructed another hospital for seamen and a cottage for himself. Every day he used to take his daily ride out to this site, which he named "Little Britain". In the work of the Seaman's Chapel in Bethel street, the British Government also used to contribute twenty dollars a quarter in recognition of the useful work done among British sailors by the chaplain.

General Miller gave generous praise to the work being accomplished by Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Cooke, the American missionary couple in charge of the school for young Chiefs and Chiefesses. It was, he said, equal to the best country academy in England, and the interesting pupils made great progress in almost every branch of education, and their manners and morals were good.

The great possibilities of the sugar trade had been seen very early. Captain Charlton made some effort to start in Kauai or Atooi, as he called that island. In 1835 the American firm of Ladd & Company actually did so, and in 1841 the partners of that firm made a great effort to obtain control of unlimited tracts of land. An agreement was signed with the King by which he bound himself to lease, at suitable places, fifteen acres of land for factory sites together with two hundred acres of agricultural land surrounding each site. The King also undertook himself to cultivate an additional fifty acres

³⁷ Annex V.

Original of this self-explanatory cartoon is in the Honolulu Academy of Arts.



nearby. No limit was placed on the number of factory sites to be chosen, so that had the plan been successful, the lessors could have occupied at the rate of half a dollar per annum per acre all the most desirable land of the islands. But Mr. Richards, who had at first supported this scheme, withdrew his support when he was in London and, partly on this account and partly due to the failure of Mr. Brinsmade, one of the partners, to raise the capital either in London or Belgium, the proposal fell through. It became indeed a source of long litigation between the Government and Ladd & Company, who were finally declared insolvent. According to Mr. Wyllie³⁸, the news of the seizure of Hawaii by Lord Paulet was the cause for the withdrawal of the Belgian capitalists. He also suggests that the Protestant missionaries were much opposed, fearing that if Belgians came out to supervise the work, many Roman Catholics would be introduced with a corresponding increase in Catholic influences.

It is as well to note that, despite accepted opinions, the American advisers to the King of Hawaii were not so pro-American as has generally been believed. We have this on the testimony of General Miller himself for, writing to the British Foreign Office in 1845, he remarked that neither Dr. Judd nor

Mr. Ricord, the Attorney-General, showed any strong national bias in favor of the United States of America. At all events Americans who had not taken the oath of allegiance, with hardly an exception, were much irritated, he said, against the Government.

The pity of it was that all these men, the foreign advisers, Judd, Ricord, Lee, Wyllie, Miller, and Ten Eyck, the British and American commissioners, were, so far as one can judge, all very sincere and earnest in their desire to help the weak Kingdom of Hawaii on to its feet, but their temperaments were all so crotchety and obstinate that none could give way to the other, each believing his own plans to be the only ones worth following. Miller considered Judd to be exceedingly narrow minded but able, with a high sense of duty. It was, he wrote, only his (Judd's) influence that kept the King and Chiefs faithful to the temperance pledge, and that was of primary importance. Mr. Richards was too pliable, he thought. Mr. Ricord was a young American lawyer who came to the islands in 1844 and was made Attorney-General by Dr. Judd; he drew up the first code of laws to be issued. Of Mr. Lee, Miller has nothing but the highest praise. Mr. Wyllie was an honest man but inclined to indulge his pen and engage in long acrimonious correspondence over unimportant details.

³⁸ See to Foreign Office No. 25 of September 23, 1844.

But if General Miller gives Wyllie but meager praise³⁹ his successor, a fairer judge, reported that, though eccentric in manner, Mr. Wyllie was a shrewd and clever man, thoroughly honest and upright, who had devoted for many years his time, talents, and fortune to the service of the Hawaii Government and to the furtherance of the political and material well-being of those islands. In him, the King had a zealous and disinterested servant and in the main a wise and judicious adviser though at times he had shown himself timid and unduly suspicious of foreign governments.

On the land question Dr. Judd himself kept a firm control and by so doing he certainly saved large tracts from going into the hungry maw of foreigners. He it was that engineered the Great Mahele⁴⁰ by which ample lands were set aside to provide for the support of the infant government and for the needs of the King. Of course, over the balance which was divided up among the chiefs and the people, he was able to exercise little control, having unfortunately failed to adopt the idea of Miller that the land should not be transferable except by government sanction.

There can be no dispute that certain tracts of land came into the possession of some missionary families and from time to time much criticism has been directed at the officials in charge accusing them of favoritism in granting permits for purchase. In 1849 (No. 19 to the F. O.) General Miller reports that he reminded Mr. Wyllie that the system now pursued in disposing of Crown lands, not at public auction or at fixed regulated price, but through the partial intervention and agency of a member of the Cabinet or members of the Privy Council, could not be satisfactory to the British Government.

The real question is whether these missionaries got the lands cheaper than anyone else or below the market value at the time and, if so, how great was the acreage thus sold cheaply to them.

The only guide to this is an investigation made under the chairmanship of Mr. Wyllie in that very year, August 1849. The net result of his inquiry was that an amount of ten thousand acres, more or less, had been sold to missionaries at about ninety cents per acre under the market price. Truly a small reward, as Mr. Wyllie remarks, for the sacrifices made and the work done for Hawaii. This seems to be the sum total of the land which fell into the hands of missionaries prior to the Great Mahele or division of lands carried out in 1848. If, after that date, when every Hawaiian who had lands was able and willing to sell, they bought more, we must blame the lack of protection, not the missionaries or, rather, their families who had every right to engage in such legitimate pursuits to safeguard their children, of whom they had not a few as may be seen from the following extract of a letter from Miller in 1849:

The 35 American resident missionaries with their wives, have 134 children, many of them adults, now in the islands. Dr. Judd, the Rev. Armstrong, the Rev. Judge Andrews and the Rev. Mr. Green have ceased to be missionaries and have of their own living with them 26 sons and daughters besides.

If the Hawaiians have lost the bulk of the lands⁴¹, the real cause for complaint is therefore against the failure of the early advisers of their King, among whom were Wyllie, Ricord, and Lee, all non-missionaries, to provide the necessary safeguards. This point was, as already stated, the continual battle of General Miller. He brought it up repeatedly but without success.

The British Consul General also wrote often opposing the system of unpaid compulsory labor⁴² which he termed "all demoralizing and exterminating, the continuance of which," he prophesied, "would suffice to sweep from the face of the delightful islands, the extremely interesting and kind-hearted natives." Besides, unpaid labor, General Miller considered that the mis-

³⁹ To F. O. October 13, 1862.

⁴⁰ Division of all lands, then wholly the King's property, among the people with right to acquire fee simple title to lands then occupied, used, or held by Royal sufferance.

⁴¹ An interesting tax survey is presented (Annex VI) showing the distribution of taxes and property in 1881, which makes it clear that at that date considerable property was still in the hands of the Hawaiians.

⁴² See Annex VII, which contains besides an account of trade in 1845, a reference to this question.

sionary laws on morality⁴³ were another contributing factor in the rapid decline in the native population which was, he said, never due, as claimed by the missionaries, to the introduction of venereal disease by contact with the whites.

Many Hawaiians were in fact much discontented with the blue laws and land laws enforced against them, and in 1851 this discontent burst into flame. The report of Miller on the incident serves to show the danger of repression:

On the night of the 22nd instant (October) about eighty Kanakas condemned to hard labour, some for months, some for years, in default of payment of heavy fines imposed upon them for *Moe Kolohe* (illicit intercourse) punishable by law in this Kingdom, took possession of the Battery and powder magazine on Punch Bowl Hill, which commands the town, their plan being, it appears, to have set fire to two missionary Churches and then to have hanged Dr. Judd and the Rev. Armstrong.

The law respecting *Moe Kolohe*, the often cruel and very partial manner in which it is carried out is a constant source of additional income to the native judges and foreign police officers, who are entitled to half the fines, which are enormous, whilst it increases the evils it is intended to abolish. A few days ago a Kanaka on the island of Hawaii was put in irons and condemned to hard labour because his wife, it was discovered, had given birth to a child only two months after their marriage. But this is by no means one of the worst instances, which occur daily in the islands as the result of missionary legislation.⁴⁴

Incidentally, a writer opposed to the missionaries has claimed that the destruction of the supplies of *pili* grass by the herds of cattle owned by foreigners was another factor in the decline of the population. According to him, the lack of adequate supplies of this thatching material, used from time immemorial by the Hawaiians to build their grass huts, made their houses insanitary and damp because they were unable to change the thatching as often as health conditions required. The loss of population cannot, however, be laid at any one door. It was just the march of civilisation and the inability of the Hawaiians to adjust themselves to its demands.

⁴³ To Wyllie, July 2, 1850. Noticing that seamen were being fined for fornication, Miller observed that the law respecting fornication, as it stood, was unsupported by scripture or the usage of most Christian nations, and complained that because the policemen got half the fines, their wives, sisters or other female friends used to entrap the sailors. Except in the case of Royalty, the ancient form of legitimate or recognized marriage was no more than cohabitation, while divorce was equally simple; the injustice of this law is therefore obvious.

⁴⁴ Letter from Miller, October 25, 1851.

In 1849 a great change came over the relations between General Miller and the foreign advisers. In 1847 they had persuaded the King to ask the British Government for his recall. As a matter of fact there was hardly a foreign representative for whose recall at some time or other they did not ask. Quarrels occurred not only with Miller but also with Mr. Brown and Mr. Ten Eyck, the two successive American Commissioners and also with Mr. Dillon, the French Consul. In each case their Governments were requested to replace them with other men. In the case of Miller, they met with a strong rebuff from Lord Palmerston who wrote that, after considering all the correspondence very carefully, His Majesty's Government saw no reason whatever to recall him; and that they had only to express their just expectation that a proper feeling of respect for Great Britain and a due sense of the importance to the Sandwich Islands of maintaining unimpaired its friendly relations with Great Britain, would lead the Hawaiian Government to see the expediency of so shaping in future its conduct towards the representative of the British Crown as not to place in jeopardy the continuance of friendly intercourse between the two States.

While the above rebuke might well have led the foreign advisers to alter outwardly their attitude towards General Miller, an unexpected event occurred to convince them of his sincerity.

This was the attack on Honolulu made by the French on account of the refusal of the Government of Hawaii to make certain tariff adjustments to let in French brandy and wine at low rates. A force was landed, which seized the Customs House and destroyed parts of the Old Fort. In accordance with his standing instructions, Miller protested to the French Admiral, reminding him of the Anglo-French Agreement of 1843 to respect the independence of Hawaii. At the same time he offered an asylum at the British Consulate-General to the King of Hawaii, if pressed. There he was to take refuge, should the French attempt to seize him, making the following declaration:

The King of the Sandwich Islands, hostilised in his Kingdom contrary to the law of nations

and contrary to Treaty without possessing the means of making any resistance comes, without renouncing any of his rights as an independent sovereign, to seek personal safety under the flag of his special friend and protector the Queen of Great Britain.

The French withdrew and the actions

of Miller were vindicated and put his relations with the King of Hawaii on a high plane. Assured that Miller had his best interests at heart, the King from thenceforward listened to his advice.

The French attack on Honolulu

ANNEX VII

Letter to Earl of Aberdeen

Honolulu, December 31st 1845.

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit herewith to Your Lordship, a return of the Trade within the Consulate of the Sandwich Islands, during the year 1845, according to which, the Gross Invoice value of Foreign Merchandise landed at Honolulu, and consumed on the Sandwich Islands, amounts to one hundred and two thousand, and seventy-two pounds.

Of these imports as near as I have been able to ascertain there were,

British	Valued at	£ 31,367
American	" "	36,603
Chinese	" "	17,700
From Germany, Russia, and other Northern Nations	" "	6,250
From California	" "	5,000
From Americans in Oregon	" "	2,652
From Peru, Guayaquil, and Chile	" "	2,500
		£102,072

In addition to the foregoing amount of goods imported, it is computed that, about £8,000 worth were landed at Lahaina, Byron's Bay, from the Whale ships which touched at those Ports. Indeed from the best information which I can obtain I have reason to believe that, including many articles introduced clandestinely, the total amount of Foreign Merchandise actually landed and consumed on the Sandwich Islands in 1845 does not fall short of £115,000.

Until lately the Merchants and Traders here usually obtained from one hundred to two or three hundred per cent above the invoice value, for their Goods, but as competition is rapidly increasing, they are already often glad to sell at a reduction of thirty or forty per cent.

Although according to a Custom House return, the value of Native products exported from Honolulu, amounts to only £6,789, it is supposed that double that amount, or upwards of £13,000 worth, were, in reality, exported from the Sandwich Islands for Foreign Markets.

The Net duties upon Merchandise Imported at Honolulu amounts to £4,055
 Ditto ditto for Transit Duties..... 95
 Ditto ditto for tonnage dues..... 1,018

Making a total of..... £5,018
 received at Honolulu for Custom House Duties and Tonnage Dues.

The duty upon Foreign Goods at invoice valuation, was last May increased from three to five per cent. The Transit Duty is half per cent.

Each Whale Ship is permitted to introduce \$200 worth of Merchandise duty free.

The Tonnage Duties upon Foreign Merchant Ships are 20 cents per ton.

The Pilotage is a Dollar per foot coming into, another Dollar per foot going out of, the Harbour of Honolulu and there is a charge

besides, of two dollars for buoys which are laid down at its entrance.

A dollar is paid for every Certificate of clearance by every Foreign Merchant Vessel upon its departure.

Vessels having Sandwich Islands Registers, which are now only granted to Natives and Naturalised Subjects, are exempt from all Port charges.

The ports of entry* for Foreign Vessels, are Honolulu on the Island of Woahoo, Hanalei on the Island of Atooi, Hilo or Byron's Bay on the Island of A'Whyee or Lahaina on the Island of Mowee, which latter place having only a Roadstead, requires no Pilot. At present Honolulu is the only Port which has a Custom House, but Custom House Officials are to be stationed at the other three mentioned Ports, according to recent regulations.

It is roughly estimated, for it cannot be ascertained with accuracy that the 34 Merchant and 575 Whale Ships, which touched at the Sandwich Islands during the year 1845 expended for Provisions and Refreshments,

Recreations for Officers and Men.....	£150,000
For Repairs of the vessels.....	18,000
And that Ships of War did not leave less than	60,000

Owing chiefly to the large size, unusual number of Ships of War which have visited the Sandwich Islands this year, there has been an increase of £40,956 in Imports over last year.

As the White Regulation of Oregon and California increases there is every probability that the Trade of the Sandwich Islands will augment, and if Three English Commercial Houses at Honolulu *viz.*, the Agents of the Hudson Bay Company; Messrs. Starkey, Janion & Co. and Messrs. Skinner and Co., would be satisfied with moderate profits, I have reason to believe that they would soon have the largest portion of the Business as far as the importation and sale of Foreign Goods went.

About 500 tons of sugar have been made from cane grown principally on the Island of Atooi. It can be grown and manufactured, I am assured by the parties interested, at a fraction above two cents per pound, including amongst the outlays an interest of twelve cents per annum upon the Capital invested. Its quality is very superior, and fetches at Sydney £4 per ton more than Manila sugar.

There are also about 5,000,000 Trees of Coffee cultivated upon the Islands, each of which trees will, it is said, in another year or two, produce from three to five pounds of Coffee annually. The quality of the Coffee is likewise superior to that of Manila.

Three of our enterprising Americans a few years ago, planted a great number of Mulberry

* Modern spelling of the islands named, in their order: Oahu; Kauai; Hawaii; Maui.

caused the United States to issue a warning,⁴⁵ directed at France, that they could not consent to see the Hawaiian Islands taken possession of

⁴⁵ To Mr. Addington of the F. O. October 16, 1851.

trees at Atooi, and with Silk-worms which they afterwards obtained produced a quantity of excellent silk every six weeks; 200 pounds weight of which were sold in Mexico for seven dollars per pound. But, as to feed and attend upon the worms it required the daily attendance of several Natives, whose constant services could not be secured, in consequence of the compulsory labour system, and because the Natives considered, that to be thus employed on Sundays was breaking the Sabbath, this important undertaking was broken up and a considerable capital employed in it entirely sacrificed.

Cotton grows spontaneously on the Leeward or South side of the Island of O'Whyee, where I am assured it might be cultivated to a very considerable extent.

There may be about 25,000 head of horned cattle on the Islands, and the yearly consumption may be reckoned at about 2,500 head. At O'Whyee and Atooi good salt beef is made, although in small quantities, on account of the hitherto small demands for it.

There are at O'Whyee about six hundred half bred Merino sheep thriving well, there having as yet been no disease amongst them; and their wool is of good staple. The two Merino lambs sent out by Sir Henry Pelly in 1841, are still alive on that Island which contains extensive table land, and sloping sides of mountains with pasturage capable of maintaining innumerable flocks.

Amidst such advantages and with one of the most delicious and healthy climates in the World, I regret to say that the kindhearted and singularly well disposed Sandwich Islanders, continue to draw rapidly towards extinction, the deaths among them being at the very least, two every birth. This sad falling off of the Aboriginal race, I attribute mainly to the immoral and exterminating effects produced by compulsory unpaid labour, which galling system prevents the Kanakas even from aspiring to accumulate property, for which they have no permanent security, whilst, it renders them callous, and in most cases averse to marry, and to have children. Although my repeated attempts have been in vain to persuade this Government to pass a new law exempting married Kanakas who have a legitimate child from this vexatious tax-labour, I do not entirely despair that, ere very long the proposed first step towards so desirable an object will be adopted, since even the Chiefs, and other Rulers, who are now apparently benefited by the continuation of the evil in question, would in reality as well as everybody else, be greater gainers by its abolition.

Amongst the Nations who have made the greatest advancements towards well regulated Domestic Habits and civilization, must be reckoned those Kanaka women, who are marreid to well-behaved Foreigners, and who with scarcely

by any European power. The cession to America of California by Mexico had, of course, much changed the outlook at Washington, and while previously America was inclined to take merely a passive interest in the fate of

an exception have by their husbands Large Families. And yet a Foreigner must now lower himself in his own and other people's opinion in order to wed a dusky Nymph.

Ninety-one British subjects, about two hundred Americans, and fifty foreigners of other nations, have taken the Oath of Allegiance. Although amongst them there are a few persons of respectability, many others are of very dubious character, and some of them well known delinquents. The present objectionable form of the Oath of Allegiance, prevents many well behaved industrious Foreigners from settling in the Country, whilst it operates as an inducement for men of bad character to seek refuge on these remote Islands, to the great detriment of their peaceable inhabitants. To this may be attributed the numerous robberies and great increase of intemperance which has been of late so painful to observe at Honolulu.

Several new houses and buildings have been erected this year at Honolulu and its environs. Amongst them the most useful, as well as ornamental of them is the British Consulate Hospital, recently constructed at the expense of Mr. Booth, on a piece of ground of his own, now called Little Greenwich, situated rather more than a mile from the town, in a most healthy and picturesque valley. The Edifice is of wood, raised upon stone piles a foot or two from the ground, and consists of airy, dry and comfortable adjoining rooms, one of which is large enough to contain ten or twelve bedsteads for as many Patients, and the other is used for those who are well enough to sit table to dine in.

The hospital has a veranda with a boarded floor, all around its four sides, an excellent detached kitchen and storeroom, made of stone and mortar, sand wall, with a garden and lawn, are enclosed by a substantial stone wall. Neither paint nor lime have been spared.

The Valley in which Little Greenwich lies has hitherto been almost secluded from public view or notice, on account of some intervening hills and very rugged path which led to it, but I am happy to say that in a few weeks, an excellent carriage road leading to it and now making, will be finished.

Dr. Judd, much to his credit, has made a road several miles in extent, leading from Honolulu to the Eastern part of the Island, which for some distance runs down along the side of a steep and rocky mountain called the Pali.

Too much cannot be said in praise of the school for young Chiefs and Chiefesses conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Cooke. It appears to me to equal the best Country Academies in England, and the interesting Pupils make great progress in almost every branch of education, and their manners, and as far as I may be able to learn, their morals are good.

WILLIAM MILLER.

Hawaii, their proximity to the islands in California made them anxious to keep the Islands at least independent. In 1853 a new administration came into power at Washington, which was prone to flirt with the idea of annexation. The American colony in Hawaii, both missionary and business, began about this time to exert pressure to persuade the King to petition the U. S. A. for annexation, which would have greatly enhanced the value of the sugar trade, then beginning to expand. It was represented to Washington, untruly, that the King and Chiefs desired annexation. This action was fought strenuously by Miller,⁴⁶ Wyllie and Prince Alexander. Miller went even so far as to promise the protection of the British flag, should American filibusters from California attempt a *coup d'etat* as was feared. In September a memorandum was sent to the King urging him to seek annexation, signed by nineteen Americans⁴⁷; it was presented by Dr. Judd, who added to it a proposal that the King should seek a loan from the U.S.A. at the same time, knowing, so Miller reported, that if the loan were not paid back, annexation was bound to follow.

This proposal was vigorously attacked by some of the Chiefs and ended in Dr. Judd's resignation, thus ending the official connection of this remarkable man with the Government, which had lasted for twelve years.

⁴⁶ The British F. O. instructed Miller to impress on the King and Prince Alexander, the importance of maintaining their present independent position; he was to point out to them that their sound position and future prospects must be harmed in the event of a suicidal policy being carried out. From F. O. Nov. 29, 1853.

⁴⁷ The names were: R. Coady; Thos. H. Marshall; W. B. Rice; B. F. Snow; Alex. J. Cartwright; G. Foster Ford; Amos S. Cooke; W. H. Rice; J. C. Spalding; Stephen Reynolds; Benjamin F. Hardy; Thomas Spencer; A. P. Everett; Charles R. Bishop; Jno. C. Bullions; Julius A. Author; Saml. N. Castle; E. Hoffman; M. C. Monsarrat.

⁴⁸ The 56 names were: B. F. Snow; R. Coady; Alex. J. Cartwright, Jr.; Chas. R. Bishop; W. A. Aldrich; J. C. Spalding; C. Hoffman; Benjm. F. Hardy; Thomas Schell; Wm. Besse; M. C. Monsarrat; J. R. Williams; R. S. Barker; R. A. S. Wood; Abel Harris; C. G. Clifford; J. J. Anthon; Benson Behn; G. P. Judd; Wm. A. Daly; H. N. Crabbe; Thomas Spencer; J. W. Riddell; M. Brown; Fredk. Hanks; J. W. Fitch; A. B. Tunall; Saml. C. Allen; Geo. G. Howe; Stephen Bailey; Barum A. Field; Sml. Rawson; Henry Dimond; Chas. W. Vincent; Wm. K. Snodgrass; Henry Howe; J. Dudoit; Isaac Montgomery; James H. Force; John W. Brown; Wm. B. Rice; Thos. H. Everett; Saml. H. Dowsett; John G. Collinson; A. V. Everett; Edward Kent; B. F. Caulesbury; J. Boileau; D. W. Crabbe; John Brash; John Brannigan; G. Vorted Jones; W. H. Folveg; Francis A. Rowe; Wm. Combs.

On January 9, 1854, the attempt of the annexation party⁴⁸ was renewed and a memorial presented to the King signed by 56 persons including Dr. G. P. Judd himself.

The King was much shaken but eventually on the advice of Prince Alexander, Mr. Wyllie, and General Miller, the proposal was rejected. The death of Kamehameha III in 1854 relieved the danger, since he was succeeded by Prince Alexander, who was opposed to annexation and rather pro-British in his sentiments, which he clinched by his marriage to Queen Emma, a Hawaiian Princess with much English blood in her veins, being the granddaughter of John Young.

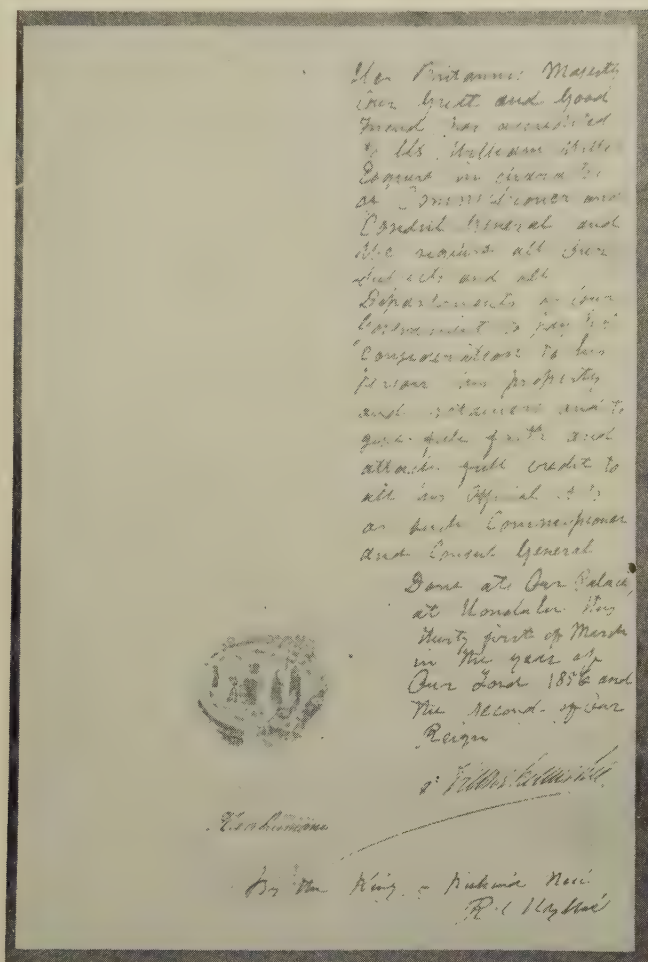
General Miller, who had played such an important part in maintaining the independence policy of the British Government, was rewarded for his work in 1855 by being raised in rank to H. M. Commissioner⁴⁹ and Consul-General. No further crisis occurred during his term of office. In 1859 he asked for and received leave of absence to go to South America to fight his cause for sums due him from the Government of Peru for his services during the war of independence. He died on board *H.M.S. Naiad* at Lima on October 31, 1861, when about to return to his post.

The opinion of General Miller regarding the capacity and character of the Hawaiians was very favourable. In 1851 he wrote as follows:

The Hawaiian House of Commons now in session at this place is composed of twenty-three members, three English, three Americans, one German and the rest natives. The debates are admirably conducted in the Hawaiian and English languages and the bearing, deportment and good sense of those who have spoken are as surprising as pleasing. I am more convinced than ever that the Kanakian race possess a vast deal of innate good breeding; indeed the naked little urchins in the streets and the brown nymphs, as well as the members of Parliament all manifest convincing proofs of the fact.

On the departure of General Miller, Mr. Toup Nicolas, Consul at Tahiti, came up to act, but a few months after his arrival he was taken sick mentally and had to be shipped home. Mr. W. L. Green, a local British merchant and a partner in the British firm of Starkey

⁴⁹ A photo of the Hawaiian Exequatur is opposite this page, showing the signature of Kamehameha IV.



Hawaiian Exequatur signed by Kamehameha IV (footnote 49, opp. p.) original of which is in The Foreign Office, London.

and Company, took charge until the arrival of Mr. Synge, the new Commissioner appointed on the death of Miller.

Mr. Synge arrived at Honolulu in 1862 at a sad moment. A young prince had been born to King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma in 1858, and the happy couple had been eagerly awaiting the arrival of the new British Commissioner, who was bearing a letter from Queen Victoria accepting the position of godmother to the infant prince. But the prince had been taken seriously ill and was not expected to live. Mr. Wylie boarded the vessel as soon as she had cast anchor, requesting the immediate attendance of Mr. and Mrs. Synge so that the ceremony of baptism could be performed before it was too

late. With Mrs. Synge acting as proxy for the Queen, and Mr. Synge for the Prince of Wales as godfather, the child was baptised according to the rites of the Church of England.

In October 1862 Bishop Staley, the Anglican Bishop, arrived. His coming had been much opposed by the American missionaries, much to the surprise of the King, who remarked on it to Mr. Synge, saying that for seventy years he and his ancestors had been trying to bring about the establishment of a Church of England mission—a fact well known to the American missionaries. Indeed the first petition made to England for the despatch of a Church of England clergyman was sent to the Foreign Office in 1838 signed by all the

British subjects resident in Honolulu. A photo of this petition is opposite this page.

In November 1862 followed the baptism of Queen Emma herself, who had had to wait so long because the American missionaries had refused⁵⁰ to do it unless a guarantee were given that the Queen, then a girl, would not be brought up in the English Church, a guarantee which was always refused. In the same month the King and Queen were confirmed by the English Bishop.

The reign of King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma marks a period when the influence of the English in Hawaii was as great as in the times of Vancouver.⁵¹ To counteract this ascendancy the United States of America raised the rank of their representative to that of Minister Resident but English influence predominated until the end of the Kamehameha dynasty with the death of Kamehameha V in 1873. In 1865 Queen Emma, who had lost her husband in 1863, made a journey to England, where she stayed for a time with Queen Victoria. The Queen of England, fearful lest the fate of Queen Kamamalu should overtake her guest, had tried to persuade Queen Emma to forbear, but so great was the Hawaiian Queen's eagerness to see the land of her forefather that she was not to be denied. Queen Victoria then ordered Mr. and Mrs. Syngé to accompany the Queen home. During the absence of the British Minister the acting post was again confided to Mr. W. L. Green.

With the accession of King Lunalilo, and a year later of King Kalakaua, the American party regained its former prestige. In fact there is little doubt that its members did every possible thing to secure the latter's election instead of Queen Emma, who was the candidate favoured by the masses. Immediate attempts were made to secure annexation and when such a treaty was opposed in Washington, the next best solution was adopted to secure a Treaty of Trade Reciprocity. England again resisted an-

nexation, instructing her representative, in case the United States should take steps to seize the Islands,⁵² to urge the King to place his country under the joint protection of Great Britain, France and the United States.

Against reciprocity, however, England showed less hostility,⁵³ recognising that, with a weak state struggling under many difficulties, it was necessary to be considerate and under the peculiar circumstances of Hawaii's trade, better to allow reciprocity with the United States provided the duties on British goods were kept at existing rates.

Reciprocity came and its success changed the course of events. The British party equally with the American was benefited by the rapid development of the sugar industry. Exports of that commodity rose to undreamed of quantities, making the ultimate annexation of Hawaii to the U.S.A. a definite certainty.

The establishment of the sugar industry caused the system of land tenure in Hawaii to be changed so as to provide ownership or tenancy long enough to justify the employment of large capital without which its development would have been impossible. Its future also depended (and still does) on an adequate supply of labour, which was woefully lacking in early Hawaii. The champion of the import of indentured labour seems to have been Mr. Wyllie. From the utilitarian point of view he was right, but whether he was from a human point of view is debatable. In any case, the King was won over to the project and a start was made with Chinese from Hongkong. But after their arrival doubt seems to have entered the head of the King, and he attempted to make a change and bring in fellow Polynesians from the South Seas who, he thought, would serve a double purpose, namely, form a supply of labour and, by bringing their wives, serve to repopulate the Islands with a people allied to the Hawaiians. Accordingly a number of natives from the Gilbert Islands were brought, mainly by the method of "blackbirding"; the most

⁵⁰ To F. O. November 14, 1862: it is interesting to read the first petition from British subjects, dated 1838, for an English clergyman to be sent out. Annex VIII.

⁵¹ An Englishman, Mr. W. L. Green, was the first President of the Chamber of Commerce, which existed as early as 1865.

⁵² From F. O. No. 12, 1874.

⁵³ From F. O. No. 10 of 1875.

We, the undersigned subjects of her Britannic Majesty residing at the Sandwich Islands, humbly beg leave to represent to your Lordship our very peculiar situation in being without any spiritual centre of the Church of England, from which we being separated from our native country we are still Englishmen, and consider ourselves bound, and shall always be ready to serve our country from which we do not consider ourselves detached, as these Islands of not belonging to Great Britain are at least under his especial protection; our ardent desire is to have a Clergyman of that denomination appointed for the benefit of ourselves and families. We are willing to subscribe to the utmost of our means towards his support and the erection of a Church, and the purchase of a Burial ground, which is much wanted. We are four in number who are permanent

permanent residents, but your Lordship will perceive from the annual returns of taxes that great numbers of her Majesty's subjects (Siamen) belonging to Whale ships residing there. These will be greatly benefited by having a Clergyman of the Established Church resident at them.

We therefore humbly request that your Lordship will be pleased to appoint such a person to the situation with a sufficient salary to maintain him and his family respectably, and we further request your Lordship's gracious assistance in providing a church, house, and Burial ground, the expenses of all which we pledge ourselves to defray in such part as may accord with the limited means which we possess.

In conclusion we humbly beg leave to recommend to your Lordship's favourable notice the Reverend David Peases with whose conduct during his residence at the Columbia River

River we are well acquainted and who is himself not ignorant of our spiritual wants, having twice visited these Islands.

We beg leave

My Lord
To subscribe ourselves
Your Lordship's most
Obedient humble servants.

Witness December 20th 1830

J. C. Byrd

J. C. Byrd

J. C. Byrd

J. C. Byrd

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J. C. Byrd

Edmund Laffey
David Reed

W. H. Hickey

James Hickey

Andrew Hickey

John Hickey

Thomas Hickey

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famous ship engaged therein being the *S.S. Stormbird*. The experiment was a failure, since the men showed no more inclination to work than the Hawaiians. Moreover rumours of ill treatment reached the British Government, from whose Protectorates the men came, and they ordered Mr. Wodehouse, the British Commissioner to succeed Mr. Synge, to make an investigation. The report⁵⁴ was as follows:

The house accommodation is invariably insufficient for health, comfort, and cleanliness; medical attendance was unattainable. The labourers were, however, well fed. There was no systematic method of registration so that the natives had no means of knowing when their contract was over. The immigrants were ignorant people who had come mainly because they had been told that King Kalakaua needed them.

With the failure of Polynesian labour, the Minister for Foreign Affairs tried to negotiate with the Government of India for a supply of East Indians but without success, which is no matter for surprise because the Minister when discussing the matter with the British Commissioner remarked that:

It is natural that our planters should look upon a well-regulated supply of the cheapest class of labour with favourable eyes, especially as having the advantage of a reciprocity treaty with the United States of America⁵⁵ which gives them an enhanced price for their main product over what they could obtain in the markets of the world, the two combined: that is the highest price for their product and the cheapest system of labour to be got, would be very profitable.

Truly an unctuous statement but hardly one likely to appeal to a Government desirous of protecting its people from exploitation.

Unable to secure Indians, the Government turned in succession to Portugal, Spain, and even Scandinavia, and later to Japan from where they had imported a few Japanese in 1868 and had found them to be excellent workers. Between 1887 and 1907 several thousand arrived and fully justified themselves. The Japanese Government, ever jealous of the treatment of its nationals, sent a commission of investigation⁵⁶ in 1889

and, finding conditions not as they wished, demanded better treatment, which was accorded. Indeed today it would be difficult to find a place where greater care is given to the employment of labour. Conditions are, of course, not claimed to be perfect but, in general, the sugar labourers of Hawaii are well fed and well housed and many are able to put by substantial sums with which to return to their homes.

But if the sugar industry thus brought prosperity in its train it again raised for the Hawaiians the bogey of annexation. King Kalakaua had been elected by the American or annexationist party but it was not long before he gave signs of a desire to emancipate himself from control. His efforts to do so brought on a new crisis and union with America again became imminent; but the time was not ripe in the United States. The Reciprocity Treaty was, however, again renewed with an additional clause granting to America the use of Pearl Harbor as a naval base. England immediately claimed the right to use it also, under the most favoured nation clause of her treaty with Hawaii of 1851. Once more doubt as to the respective intentions of the two Powers arose. "At the present moment" (1888) remarked the British representative, "neither the United States of America or Great Britain has entire confidence in the sincerity of the other's intentions towards Hawaii notwithstanding Mr. Bayard's⁵⁷ declaration that the United States had no intention of declaring a protectorate and that Great Britain had signed a treaty of non-annexation."

The position of the United States had been communicated to Great Britain in 1881 at an interview between Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, and Sir Edward Thornton, British Minister in Washington.⁵⁸ Mr. Blaine stated that the Chinese labourers then being imported in great numbers into Hawaii were an objectionable class of immigration. When the British Minister suggested that it would be an interference with the independence of the islands to attempt to prevent Chinese immigration

⁵⁴ To F. O. No. 9, December 1880.

⁵⁵ From Hawaiian F. O. January 17, 1881.

⁵⁶ No. 19 to F. O. June 1, 1889. The report of the Japanese Consul-General was: 1. The food was insufficient. 2. Constant deductions were made from the labourers by the planter, who constituted himself the sole judge. 3. District judges, who were to decide disputes, were unfit for their positions.

⁵⁷ Secretary of State.

⁵⁸ From Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville, April 25, 1881.

by force Mr. Blaine replied that influence would be brought to bear upon citizens of the United States residing there, who were the principal owners of the real property in the islands; he added that the position of the Sandwich Islands was of such importance to the safety of the United States that they would never allow any other nation but themselves to control them. The United States would never raise any objection to Great Britain securing the dominion of any other islands which might be adjacent to British possessions, but on the other hand its Government held that it would also be justified in maintaining that no nation but the United States should exercise control over the Sandwich Islands, which by their position almost belonged to this country. Mr. Blaine's last observation was that sooner or later the islands had to come under the protection of America.

Obviously such an attitude only needed the opportunity. Mr. Wodehouse, the British Commissioner communicated copies of Sir Edward Thornton's report to members of the Hawaiian Royal family in the hope of checking the trend of events, but in vain, for the interests of Hawaii had become too bound up with those of America. The death of King Kalakaua postponed the inevitable because his successor, his sister, Queen Liliuokalani, was bitterly opposed to it, but in 1893 her attempts to recover some of the Royal rights surrendered by her brother brought on a fresh state of crisis, which ended in the formation of a Hawaiian Republic.

This was the opportunity but it found Washington lukewarm and it was not until the needs of the Spanish American War called for a *point d'appui* in the Pacific that annexation was completed on August 12, 1898.

The last British Commissioner accredited to the throne of Hawaii, Mr. Wodehouse, had been a warm friend of the dynasty and preferred to retire on the proclamation of a Republic. He was succeeded by Mr. A. G. Hawes, Consul at Tahiti. On Mr. Hawes fell the burden of defending the rights of the several British subjects who were accused, some correctly, some unjustly, of taking part in the insurrection to overthrow

the Republic. He had been a naval officer and, previous to entering the Consular service, had been in the employ of Japan, where he assisted to organise her merchant marine.

The Islands are today half playground, half workshop. The serious half is devoted to the cultivation of sugar, pineapples and coffee, to the uplifting and education of the people, including social and religious centres for the use and benefit of all races and classes. One institution in particular, founded by the energy of the sons of Hawaii, deserves more than special mention, that is, the Institute of Pacific Relations, which has its headquarters at Honolulu. Acting unofficially, this Institute is engaged in studies, social and economic in all countries bordering the Pacific, with a view to providing adequate information regarding the ideas and habits of the different peoples. Every two years is held, under its auspices, a conference attended by unofficial representatives of each country interested in Pacific problems in the hope that by personal exchange of opinions a better understanding of each other's problems may result. A similar work is also being conducted by the Pan-Pacific Union.

The other half is occupied in amusements linked with an ever-growing tourist trade. It is the half of which the world hears most, Hawaiian skies, Hawaiian nights, Hawaiian music, Hawaiian dancing. Of these the poets have sung and sing, for they are part of the country, innate to the carefree character of the people. The ancient hula still attracts. The music which accompanies it has been modernised and is dispensed by ukuleles and guitars, which were imported into the islands by Portuguese immigrants. The songs describe in words, aided by the movements of the hands and body, the glories of the land, of the sea, and the stars, the beauty of friendship and the pleasures and pangs of love. The girls wear grass skirts, their heads and shoulders decked with leis, or chaplets of flowers as in the days when Lord Byron saw and described them. Some dance in *holokus* or "Mother Hubbards," the one-piece

garment devised by the missionaries to replace their former scanty attire. The time has become quicker and the dance more brisk in accordance with the demands of modern youth but the allure of the swaying figures is still bewitch-

ing and when I sit watching the graceful curves of the hula girls undulating to the softness of the old songs, I wonder how the British sailors brought themselves to return the islands to the Hawaiians and sail away.

PART II. Other Pacific Islands

INCLUDED in the consular district of Captain Richard Charlton in 1824 were the Society, Friendly and Navigators Islands. The Society Islands now belong to France, but until 1841 they had maintained their independence under a Chief, with the title of *Pomare*. Captain Charlton paid his first visit to Tahiti, the capital of the islands, in 1825. It was a favourite spot for sailors to desert their ships, take unto themselves a dusky nymph and wile away life in tropical ease, and the object of the consul's journey was to secure assistance from the chief to prevent desertions.

The trade of the Society Islands was principally with the colony of New South Wales,⁵⁹ the natives bartering salted pork, coconut oil and arrowroot for coarse British and Indian calicos, firearms, ironmongery and wearing apparel. Vessels from New South Wales also used to carry on a trade with the low islands in the vicinity for pearls, mother of pearl shell and *beche de mer*, an article which was in great demand in China. The islands produced, in addition, several articles useful for dyes which were expected to be exported in considerable quantities. Between October 1823 and August 1825, twelve British vessels with a tonnage of 1,330 tons had arrived. There were no duties on imports or exports nor tonnage dues in ships frequenting the harbours. Provisions being reasonable in price, a number of whaling ships were in the habit of frequenting Tahiti, where there was a safe and capacious anchorage.

In May 1826 the Consul reported to the Foreign Office on the internal state of the islands. The King or *Pomare*, the third of that name, was only seven years of age, his mother's sister having been appointed Regent. The government was a very limited monarchy, the

laws being framed by the missionaries, of whom several were English, and approved by the Chiefs. The laws were mild but badly administered. Murder was punishable by banishment for life, and theft by paying four times the value of the article stolen; half of which went to the King and half to the owner of the stolen property. The taxes were inconsiderable, each man and married woman paying four bamboos,⁶⁰ about three gallons, of coconut oil annually, of which half belonged to the King and half to the governors of the district in which the taxpayers resided. The islands subject to *Pomare* were Tahiti, Eimeo, Chain Island, Tetearon and Maratea. The leeward islands were governed by their own chiefs and were not dependent on Tahiti. Huahine was ruled by a female called *Teritivea*; Mitea by *Tamatoa*; Osahoa by *Tenua-Peho*; Mania by *Taero* and Borabora by two chiefs of equal rank, one called *Mai* and the other *Pareema*.

The people were very indolent and much addicted to theft. Their religion was Protestant, according to the form of the independent dissenters in England. The population of all the islands was about twenty thousand and had increased since the natives had embraced Christianity.

In the same month Captain Charlton appointed Mr. Thomas Elley to be Vice-Consul for the Society Islands and, shortly afterwards, returned to Hawaii; but in 1827 Mr. Elley resigned and went home to England. No further appointment was made until 1837 when a consulship for the islands was created and the post withdrawn from the supervision of Honolulu or Oahu. In 1827 *Pomare III* died and was succeeded by his sister *Amata*, who took the title of *Pomare IV*, according to custom.

⁵⁹ To F. O. from Tahiti, No. 10 of October 18, 1825.

⁶⁰ Bamboo containers to carry liquids were common throughout the Pacific Islands.

During the tenancy of his office Captain Charlton did not visit Tahiti again. The next visit was made by General William Miller, Consul-General for the Pacific Islands, to whose jurisdiction the Society Islands had been restored in 1843 owing to a series of events which had culminated in the establishment of a French Protectorate in 1841. The French Admiral du Petit Thouars had seized the islands in the name of France but his action was not approved in Paris, where the French cabinet preferred to control them through their Queen Pomare who had been induced to sign a petition asking for French protection. Mr. George Pritchard, the English Consul, and Captain Nicolas, in command of an English ship of war at Tahiti at the time, had taken very active steps to resist French penetration. The former had been arrested and deported, for which action, however, the French subsequently made suitable amends, but the Foreign Office decided to move him to another post at the Navigators Islands, now Samoa.

News of the critical position at Tahiti in 1844 caused General Miller to visit that place. He found that the Queen Pomare, alleging that her petition for a protectorate had been signed by her in ignorance of its contents, had fled to the Leeward Islands and had refused to recognise the French Protectorate. Since Miller had no exequator from the French Government, Mr. Bruat, the French Governor, would not permit him to open an office on shore, and so the Consul-General had to remain on board *H.M.S. Salamander* on which he had

travelled from Honolulu. In accordance with his instructions the Consul-General exerted himself to allay the fears of the Queen and her Chiefs, counselling them to remain quiet until the decision of the French Government was received from Paris.

TO THE CHIEFS AND GOVERNORS AT PAPENOO.
H.B.M. Consulate General on board the "Salamander". Papeiti, Sept. 4th, 1844.

A letter signed "The Governor of Papenoo" and addressed to "The two British officers" was put into my hands yesterday.

If this letter be intended for me I have only to say in reply, that, the French King and the French Government have disavowed the conduct of Admiral Du Petit Thouars in depriving Queen Pomare of her sovereignty and have declared, and published to the world, that the Queen Pomare shall be restored.

Respecting the manner in which this is to be done, Governor Bruat expects almost daily to receive orders from his Government, as I do to learn from the British Government.

Until, therefore, further orders and information be received from Europe I advise you, as I did the other day when at your Encampment, to remain perfectly quiet.

This is the wish of Queen Pomare and of all her true friends.

(Signed) WM. MILLER

H.B.M. Consul for the Sandwich Islands and Society and other Islands in the Pacific.

In due course an answer from Paris came, instructing the Governor to do no more than establish a French Protectorate and not to hoist the French flag. The Queen, however, refused to submit and after vain efforts to persuade her to return, the French took military action in 1846, but this was after General Miller's return to Honolulu. On his departure from the Society Islands, he placed his son, Mr. George Miller, at Tahiti as British Vice-Consul.

The Fiji Islands

Fiji is now a British possession but in 1844 these islands were independent and formed part of the consular district of H. M. Consul-General at Honolulu. General Miller never visited them although he appointed Mr. Sea, who had been Acting Consul at Honolulu before his arrival, to be Vice-Consul for the Fiji Islands and the Tonga or Friendly Islands. Mr. Sea did not take up his post but remained in Hawaii as Secretary to the Consul-General. In the Consular archives are the following interesting letters addressed to the Fijian

Chiefs, calling on them to give up their murderous ways. In the second letter the Consul-General implores them to stop dining off missionaries. The passage calls to mind the fearless manner in which these men of God used to go unprotected among savage cannibals of former days:

HER BRITISH MAJESTY'S CONSUL-GENERAL FOR ALL THE ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN, TO THE CHEF SERU OF BAW, AND OTHER CHIEFS OF THE FEIGEE ISLANDS.

It having come to my knowledge that several British subjects have been inhumanly murdered in the Feigee Islands, and that those still resid-

ing there are in danger of sharing the same fate, I do hereby declare that I shall hold you responsible for such murders, or other acts of barbarity or injustice, that may be committed towards Englishmen.

It is your duty to afford protection to all foreigners who have been permitted, or may be permitted to reside upon or who may touch at your islands and therefore I trust and require in the name of my sovereign, that, for the future no more such assassinations and outrages as those complained of will be permitted or tolerated; for if otherwise, I now warn you that most ample punishment will be inflicted upon the guilty, and more particularly upon the Chiefs culpably concerned.

I have also been informed that the leniency hitherto shown by the British Ships of War which have occasionally touched at your Ports, arising from their Commanders not being able to ascertain precisely, who were the individual delinquents, and from the humane desire not to punish the innocent for the guilty, has only emboldened you in a continuance of your criminal proceedings, and that you have mistaken the humanity of a great nation for weakness, and I therefore further declare to you that henceforward no such leniency shall be shown, and that for every British subject massacred, I shall insist upon the death of a Principal Chief, as well as all other natives concerned in the massacre.

And I therefore make known to you, that if any of the Missionaries, whose object is to introduce amongst you the lights of Christianity and civilisation, and thus render your happiness, should not be respected, and fully protected under your every circumstance, the punishment that will fall upon you will be still greater, and I shall be guided in a great measure in my bearing towards you by the reports which these praiseworthy Teachers of the Gospel may make to me.

At the same time I enjoin all British subjects scrupulously to avoid taking any part in your wars and disturbances amongst yourselves, and if any should act to the contrary of what I thus enjoin, you will do perfectly right in banishing them from your Islands.

You know what I as the Representative of H.B.M. Government on the Islands in these seas require and demand of you, and for the future

you cannot allege ignorance in palliation of your misdeeds, and it will be well for you always to bear in mind that England, which has sent Missionaries to teach you the Divine Precepts and the way to obtain everlasting Happiness in the World to come, will never fail to protect her own subjects and to punish in a most exemplary manner, those who murder or ill-treat them.

In conclusion I assure you that it will offer me infinite satisfaction when I may, some day, not very distant, visit your Islands, to have it in my power to approve of your conduct, than to be under any necessity of resorting to those severe measures, which any further misdeeds would most certainly bring down on you.

Given under my hand and Seal, etc., etc., this 4th, October 1844.

(Signed) WM. MILLER.

TO KING SERU, or PRINCIPAL CHIEF OF THE FEIGEE ISLANDS.

I am very glad to learn from the Bearer, Mr. Scott, and from other Persons, that you are a straightforward and well meaning man, and that you have never permitted nor tolerated as far as your power extended, the murder of any British Subjects; such conduct must meet its reward.

But I have a piece of advice to offer you, which is, for you to continue to protect White men, I mean such as behave perfectly correct in the opinion of the Reverend Mr. Hunt, or other Missionaries, and to become yourself a Christian.

Then you can hardly fail to be soon more powerful, and certainly you will be more happy than it is possible for you to be at present. Above all avoid Ava, and all other intoxicating liquors which are invented by the Devil, and as for eating Human Flesh, I am sure you will, if you have not already done so, abolish it for ever.

This advice is given to you by the Representative in these Seas, of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and he may perhaps some day not very distant pay a visit to you and the Missionaries.

God protect you.

(Signed) WM. MILLER,
Consul General, etc., etc.

Papeiti, October 4th, 1844.

Pitcairn Island

The small Island of Pitcairn now has a population of some two hundred souls, the descendants of the mutineers of *H.M.S. Bounty*. The story of this mutiny, which took place in the South Seas in 1789, has been told recently in enchanting form by Messrs. Charles Nordhoff and James Norman Hall. The island was never visited by the Consul from Honolulu, but in 1850 the distress of its inhabitants was brought to his attention by a visitor, Baron de Thierry, who supplied the following account of their condition in that year:

(Extract of a letter from Baron de Thierry to Consul-General Miller, dated at Honolulu, May 18, 1850.)

In consequence of the questions which you put to me yesterday relative to the Islanders on Pitcairn's Island, I beg you will permit me to lay before you a statement of their present condition, having had an opportunity to come to the truest conclusions during a residence of four weeks amongst them, in consequence of being deserted on the Island, with four other Cabin Passengers, by the Barque *Noble* of Auckland, New Zealand, on the 24th of March last, on our passage to San Francisco.

On reaching the settlement I found the Chief part of the population at Church, a remarkably

well built and clean timber building, Mr. Nobbs officiating as minister. I never was more surprised than I was on seeing the male and female population when the service was ended. They were all modestly and cleanly clad, remarkably well grown, tall, handsome with the mildest expression of countenance I ever beheld.

During the month we were on the Island I never heard a word from either sex that could be objected to. Polite and courteous to the highest degree, they seemed to me to be destined as the type of a new race practising all the cardinal virtues which can elevate human nature, and utterly free from every sort of vice. John Adams, the Mutineer, survived his fellow culprits and once, he said, he had seen the Angel Gabriel in his sleep, who bade him reform. From that moment that his dream awakened in him a train of better feelings he began to rear the rising generation to habits of sobriety, industry and religion.

Two Europeans settled on the Island about 27 years ago, and Mr. Buffet did much for their advancement. Chance brought them another most excellent assistant in Mr. George Nobbs, who married one of the Islanders and has a numerous Family. My name was not unknown to the Islanders and they opened their hearts fully to me and begged me to see what could be done for their relief, for, they see, and do not see it without deep concern, that their numbers are increasing so fast that before the young Children now around them reach manhood there will not be land enough to supply them with food, I mean vegetable food, for at the present time they can barely afford one meal of flesh per week, and fish, of which years ago they had large quantities, has deserted the Island since the unfortunate landslip which carried away more than 40 acres of the best land about four years ago.

Should such another calamity visit them (and there is every indication of it) they will be reduced to the brink of actual starvation. Should the Islanders by dint of industrious exertion even succeed in keeping off for a few years the horrible position to which they must ultimately come for want of food, they already suffer more deeply and more widely from a cause which one less versed with their position than myself would probably not observe. They have already seen their best days, for although they may get food, they cannot procure clothing, and for want of being able to sell provisions to ships, they have got nothing which they can give in exchange for clothing, and in a very short time they will be reduced to a state of nudity. A fact the more startling as they have already attained so much delicacy of feeling by reason of careful education. They all write excellent hands and express their thoughts in writing with elegant simplicity. With History, Geography, Arithmetic, and the Political affairs of the world they are astonishingly well informed, and assisted by one of my fellow sufferers, Mr. Carleton, I brought many of the Islanders to such proficiency in Vocal Music that they could sing in two, three, and four parts at sight. Every Voice being perfectly true, and their Ears exceedingly fine. In drawing, too, I advanced them sufficiently to enable them to go on by themselves which they faith-

fully promised to do, and I believe them too moral not to keep the promises they give.

There are at the present time eleven fine young women, from 16 to 22 years of age, who have made up their minds not to marry that they may not hasten the calamities that threaten them and I had from the Elder Arthur Quintal that married people are now canvassing the necessity to separate in order to check the population. Thus the injunction of the Almighty "Be Fruitful and Multiply" seems forbidden with a people who by their virtues should spread far and wide.

The high degree of civilisation and education to which these Islanders are rising, which in a wider field would be their chief blessing, is at present their greatest misfortune, for they can never again go naked, and even the humble "Tappa" must soon fail as they cannot afford the shrub from which they make it room to grow.

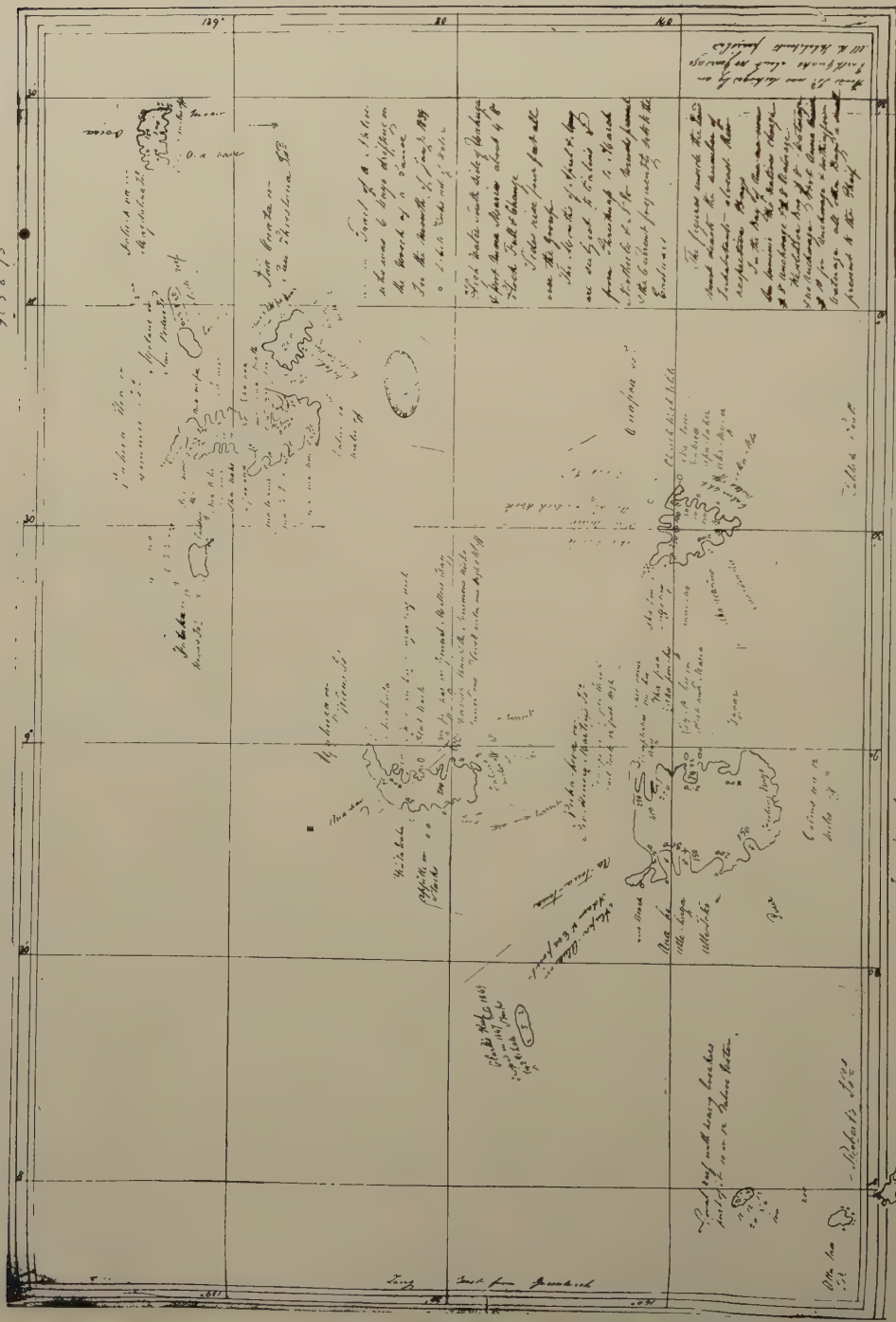
The sending occasional supplies to them in donation would be pregnant with much evil as it would blunt much of that honest feeling that arises from productive labour. But, where remove them? To the Sandwich Islands, amidst a population already much vitiated by contact with Europeans of low degree? I would certainly advise against such a step, and the more so that they are deeply imbued with English feelings and loyalty to their Sovereign, and as deeply attached to their Protestant faith, which they exercise in great purity but without ostentation.

Where to remove them is a great difficulty; I would say to a spot where the climate may nearly resemble their own, and where they would not be mixed up with an uncivilised or partly civilised race; they should have a harbour be it where it may. It would redound much to the honour of the Crown if the State of this most exemplary community were taken into consideration and that something were done to prevent their breaking up and falling into others of the human streams.

Their generosity to us in the hour of need based upon the belief (to use their own expression), that, "they should do to others as they would be done unto," was carried to such lengths that they made up parcels of clothing from their own scanty supplies for three of the passengers of the "Noble," two who went on by the "Colonist" April 14th, and one who proceeded hither with us, but Mr. Taylor, a most exemplary young gentleman, son of Colonel Taylor of the Madras Service, joined me in refusing to receive their clothing but they carried off to the "Velocity" in which we secured our passages on the 21st of April, five hogsheds of water and a profusion of fowls, pigs, fruits, and vegetables, worth fourteen or fifteen Pounds Sterling, as marks of their affection.

The heartrending intelligence having this morning reached me that my only daughter, aged 22 years, wife of Major Maters of the 58th Regiment, the pride and comfort of my declining years was dead, I feel so unnerved as to be totally incapable of expressing as I would wish to do, the high character of the Islanders on Pitcairn's Island of either sex, to whom we owe a debt of gratitude which we shall never be able to repay. I shall feel happy

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Marquesas Islands; map made in 1852 by Mr. Thomas Clifton Lawson, an English mariner. Note the line of small dots crossing near 139° 30' and first paragraph in script, right, "... Tract of a native who was 6 days drifting in the wreck of a canoe in the month of January 1839." Original of this map is in the London Public Record Office.

to furnish you with more details at a future time.

Mr. Miller had already received a letter from Mr. Nobbs, the Pastor, in 1847 asking for aid, and had replied suggesting the transfer of a few families to Hawaii, where he was ready to arrange for their employment on Kauai, but this project came to nothing. In 1856 the small colony was moved to Norfolk Island but many returned subsequently to their previous home, where they now reside under the magistracy of Richard Edgar Christian, the descendant of Fletcher Christian, the ring-leader of the mutineers.

The possibilities of the Bonin Islands, now part of the Japanese Empire, were remarked upon in an early report from Captain Richard Charlton, Consul at Honolulu from 1824 to 1842. Situated in Latitude 27 N., Longitude 142 E., about four hundred miles from the coast of Japan, he thought they were placed favourably to open a trade with that country through the Chinese. He suggested that the English East India Company at Canton, in whose service he once was, could arrange with the

merchants there for their junks to touch at the islands and take on board cargoes of British manufactures. In fact, in 1830 an expedition was sent under the consul's protection to colonise the islands. In 1842 its leader returned to Hawaii for more assistance and was provided with the following certificate by the Acting Consul, Mr. Alexander Simpson, in the absence of Captain Charlton, who had gone to England:

I hereby certify that Mr. Matteo Mazarro was one of the original leaders of the expedition fitted out from the port, under the protection of Richard Charlton Esquire, His Majesty's Consul, to colonise the Bonin Islands. And I would intimate to the masters of all whaling vessels touching at that group, that the said Mazarro is a sober and discreet man, and recommend them to support him by all means in their power against the troublers of the peace of that distant settlement. I recommend also to the settlers to receive Mr. Mazarro as their head until some officer directly appointed by Her Britannic Majesty is placed over them.

Given under my hand and seal of office at the British Consulate, Oahu, Sandwich Islands, this 27th day of December 1842.

God save the Queen.

ALEX. SIMPSON,

*Her Britannic Majesty's Acting
Consul for the Sandwich Islands.*

The Marquesas Islands

In November 1852 the following report was sent home to the Foreign Office, containing a description of these islands, their productions and climate; of the French settlement and garrison at Taehoe, formerly Ty-o-y, of the religion, beliefs, and superstitions of the Marquesans, their division into tribes,

families or clans, and of their conduct towards foreigners.

This report was written by Mr. Thomas Clifton Lawson, an English mariner who had lived on the islands for eight years engaged in supplying the whaling fleet:

A Description of the Marquesas, Their Productions, Climates, etc.

By T. C. LAWSON

THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS⁶¹ are ten in number, viz: Magdalena, San Pedro, Dominic, Hood's Island, San Christiana, Wahuga, Ouapoa, Nukaheva and the two Roberts Islands.

Six islands are inhabited, viz: Magdalena, Dominic, San Christiana, Wahuga, Ouapoa and Nukaheva. Heian, or the largest of the Roberts Islands, has fifteen self-exiled natives from Nukaheva.

Nukaheva is the principal island, with a population of 2,500 and divided into ten distinct tribes with a set of priests belonging to each tribe, and each tribe is independent of the other.

These ten tribes are again subdivided into families with the head of the family acting as Chief, and responsible for all the transactions of his own family or clan, with power to make war or peace, as he may think proper. All the landed property belonging to the clan is invested in the name of the chief, the clansmen having each a portion to do what they think proper with; every clan is very jealous as regards any infringement of rights by other clans of the same tribe; also one tribe is extremely jealous of the other, and it is remarkable that their distinction between right and wrong is decided with wonderful exactness and their arguments and conclusions would do credit to many learned Europeans.

⁶¹ See map, opposite page.

The Island of Nukaheva has three splendid harbours or bays, each being about two miles deep by about one and a half wide, with bold water close to the rocks on either side. The anchorage is good and capable of containing a great number of vessels, but it is often rather tedious getting into the anchorage, owing to light, variable winds and calms immediately after rounding the headlands at the entrance.

Ty-o-y or Fort Anna Maria is a French settlement, and inhabited and guarded at present by about 20 or 30 soldiers on shore and a small *corvette*, one half of the crew living on shore, the other half on board.

The French settlement is on the east side of the bay and is defended by a masked battery, cut out of the rock half way down a round knoll projecting from the beach a few hundred yards into the water.

The island of Ouapoa is divided against itself, the Eastern end against the Western end, and they are often fighting. The French missionaries have about 50 convents in these settlements. The harbours are not very safe and they have a good many friends on the other islands. All strangers visiting Ouapoa from the other islands are *tabu*, and are treated very friendly.

The island of Wahuga is divided into two grand divisions, *viz*: the district of Muko-Waho, and Gora-Ana, and again subdivided. Tae-e-bon is the principal Chief of Muko-Waho, and with him on our side, we defy the whole tribe.

I have counted up the genealogy of three families from Vy-koy-pon, the young Chief of Ouapoa, up to the first man named O Tike, which is 174 generations.

O Tike was the first man, and the Creator of the Heavens and the Earth; himself and his wife were born of darkness or *fanau po*, they had one daughter, and when Ena quarrelled with Tike and then turned herself into the salt water, afterwards Tike took his daughter to wife, and by them the Marquesas Isles were peopled. Every tribe acknowledges a prophet who after dying becomes deified after passing through three stages of Purgatory. The great high Chiefs also become deified, the remainder pass through four stages of Purgatory and then go to a state of happiness. They have no tradition of the Flood but they have the tradition of Elijah going up to Heaven and they believe in a body and soul and also in shadows or ghosts. Kaka-va-hea is Neptune, Tahaea-tu-nou-nou is Ceres, Tike-vy-take is the Genesis of man.

The Islands produce breadfruit and coconuts spontaneously and this is the principal living of the natives. The Islands also produce sandalwood, wild ginger, "Turmeni" root, oil-tree, Tamam and wormwood trees. Three different kinds of "Hau" trees grow in great abundance, which is useful for firewood. Pineapples, sweet potatoes, pumpkins and melons, very good sugar cane, and a very fine staple cotton which grows wild. There is also good pasturage for cattle, goats, sheep, with an abundance of fresh water on all the islands.

The climate is one of the healthiest in the world; we never have any gales of wind, although sometimes we have a double reef topsail breeze with a current setting to the westward at an average rate of half a mile an hour, some-

times stronger, and sometimes to the eastward.

From Christmas to March, northerly and north-west winds prevail, in September, April, and May, light winds with calms. The trade winds about the Isles, blow from East South East on an average.

The islands also produce hogs and fowls. Fish is moderately plentiful, and the islands have bold shores all round them close to the rocks with no reefs or shoals.

We are known by the name of Jack and Tom of Rooahooga, and under the firm name of Messrs. Lawson, Johnson, & Co., the Residence Vy-py-hay or Invisible Bay, Island of Wahuga, Marquesas Isles.

In eight years 166 vessels have been at the island of Wahuga and been supplied by Lawson & Johnson. At present we own four boats, one bull and four sows, 100 goats, 200 hogs, 50 fowls, 100 acres of cultivated land, besides timber and pasture land, a few dollars and some European trade.

The foregoing accounts of the former independent Pacific islands, which once formed part of the consular district of the British Consul-General resident in Hawaii, are, perforce, fragmentary, taken as they are from the archives at the British Consulate, Honolulu, where I had the pleasure of being stationed for two years. The Society Islands now belong to France; the Navigators (Samoa), partly to the United States and partly to New Zealand under mandate from the League of Nations; Fiji is a British possession, and Tonga or Friendly Islands alone remain semi-independent under a British protectorate. Hawaii, as already stated, was annexed to the United States. The post of British Consul-General in the Pacific is vested in the Governor of Fiji.

Nowadays the number of British subjects in Hawaii is comparatively few, but in early days in 1851, true to their traditions, the British colony founded its own club, the first president being Mr. W. L. Green of Janion, Green and Company. The clubhouse used to be in Alakea Street. In 1879 this club received a Royal Charter from the Government, the President of the day being Mr. A. S. Cleghorn, but the gradual decline in the numbers of British members finally compelled a change in its constitution and some years ago the name was changed to Pacific Club. In it are still preserved the shields of the former British and American Legations reminiscent of the days when Hawaii was independent.

Out for China Trade

Canada organizes an expedition to the Far East for a "look-see" and to promote mutual interest in trans-Pacific commerce.

By A. O. DAWSON

President, Canadian Trade Mission to China

UNDER the auspices of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, with the support of the Department of Trade and Commerce and the coöperation of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, a Trade Mission is planned to leave Vancouver for China January 19, 1937, by the *Empress of Asia* via Hawaii. Arrival at Honolulu is planned for January 25 where a day will be spent ashore. This Mission will visit the leading commercial centers of China and will return via Japan. Round table conferences for business purposes are being arranged in the principal cities included in the itinerary.

It is believed that in this way Canada will come to a greater appreciation of the present and growing importance of the Chinese market. The principals of Canada's chief industries, both primary and manufacturing, and representatives of her economic interests, are invited and urged to participate.

Altogether too few Canadian business men have ever visited China or seriously tried to enlarge their Chinese commerce. Our actual export trade last year to that great country of the Orient was, according to Dominion statistics, only some ten million dollars and we are buying therefrom less than three million. On the other hand the actual total import and export trade of China was some (Mex.) \$1,029,000,000 and \$535,000,000 respectively during 1934. The business claims of China, with its population of 400 millions, can be termed, therefore, more than potential.

It is significant to note that the United States, Japan, Great Britain and Germany are the four principal countries, in the order named, catering to Chinese requirements. The United State is also the biggest buyer of Chinese commodities and is followed by Japan, Great Britain, British India and

Germany. The extent to which the foregoing countries and Canada do business with China is set out in the table hereunder, based on the statistics of the Chinese Minister of Industry. It will be observed that only Japan enjoys a geographical advantage over Canada.

	Chinese Imports Percent	Chinese Exports Percent
1934		
United States	26.1	17.6
Japan	12.2	15.1
Great Britain	12.0	9.3
Germany	8.9	3.5
British India	4.1	4.1
Canada	1.8	0.6

That China requires and sells products of interest to Canada is borne out, not only by statistics, but by the actual inquiries which the Canadian Government Trade Commissioners and responsible commercial bodies in the Dominion receive from merchants in such centers as Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Tientsin. Letter-writing to far-away merchants causes delay and is, for the most part, unsatisfactory. The efficient method of obtaining foreign trade is to visit importers and exporters, close contracts on the spot and open up new outlets at first hand.

There is no question that a more serious and direct approach to the Chinese market will prove profitable. We can hardly be expected to win out in foreign trade fields by playing "blind-man's-buff." We must have our eyes open and be alive to the conditions of the market.

The present is an opportune time for contact with Chinese merchants, to make an intelligent approach to Oriental traders and, above all, to visit that market, which is so easily accessible to our normal Canadian trade channels, even if it is half way across the globe. By just such practice can Canadians increase their business and that, too, immediately.

Since the purpose of the tour is the encouragement and stimulation of trade between Canada and China, the itineraries have been planned with this definite end in view. Each itinerary will be found to afford a wide coverage of import commercial and industrial centers, highly concentrated marketing areas, leading import and export districts. At every chief point touched, members will be offered opportunities to meet leaders in commerce and industry, manufacturers, merchants, importers and exporters as well as other influential people, and to discuss with them the best ways and means of promoting interchange of products between their particular section and Canada. Such contacts are of incalculable value, and are being arranged with the coöperation

of the chambers of commerce in the various cities and by Canadian representatives in the Orient.

Tour A covers Honolulu, Manila, China, and Japan. Tour B covers the same itinerary as Tour A with the exception that the visit to North China is omitted, and is designed to meet the requirements of members who desire an earlier return to Canada. The Optional Tour is offered for the convenience of members who desire to visit Canton and omit Manila.

Opportunity knocks—at a time when Canadian industry is seeking to extend its foreign trade. Should not we, as Canadian business men, support this Mission and prove ourselves Merchant Adventurers trading into the Far East?

Dingo is a Dog but Koala is not a Bear*

By DAVID G. STEAD

Vice-President, Wild Life Preservation Society of Australia

WHEN the first settlers came to Port Jackson they found themselves surrounded by all sorts of strange trees and wild flowers, birds and the quaintest of animals imaginable. One can readily understand the amazement of our forefathers when they beheld animals which could not fit in with any kinds that they had been used to in their own native land, and how they used their imaginations in coining names for these strange and wonderful beasts.

What they did, in many cases, was to prefix the word "native" on to the name of some domestic or other animal which they had known in their old lands, so long as the animal so named had some real or fancied resemblance to such creatures. And so, very early in our history, we hear of native cats (which were not cats at all), native rabbits (bandicoots), native moles or duck moles (platypus), native tigers (Tasmania), native dogs and so on. The only one of these that was a really good name was that of native dog, for the dingo is a real dog.

Among the animals that lived in the trees of the young settlement was a funny little fluffy creature, with a passing resemblance to the smaller bears of the Old World. This attracted much attention because of its tameness, its amusing (though somewhat glum) little face, and its general suggestion of the toy Teddy Bears—as we now call them—which even then were playthings for many European children. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that this animal soon became known as the native bear. But the aboriginal human inhabitants of young Sydney called the animal *colo* or *coola*, and so we find in one of the dispatches from the new settlement that here was to be found "a kind of monkey, called by the natives 'colo.'" Of course, it was not really a kind of monkey any more than it was a true bear, as it belonged to the strange order of marsupiated or pouched animals—generally termed marsupials—characterized by the possession of a frontal pouch or marsupium, in which to nurse their young. But we will come back to that point later.

I have said that the animal was called

* See also *Time* magazine for November 16, 1936.

colo or coola. As with many others among our native names, there was no general agreement as to the proper way of spelling the name as pronounced by the aborigines, and by some it was spelled k-o-a-l-a. That is the way we spell it today; but the pronunciation is ko-la, and not, as commonly favored, ko-ah-la. While I am on this question of the native names, I should say that many names of places in eastern New South Wales owe their origin to this lovable little animal. For instance, there are Coolah, Colah, Colo, perhaps Coila, and Coolac. Other names for the koala in various parts of its habitat were kula, kulla, kulawine, coorabun or coolabun, koolewong, as well as some other names not having the same sort of sound, such as boorabee (North Coast), burroor, bangaroo, pucawan, banjarah, and burrendong. In the northern suburbs of Sydney, also, we have a Koola Road. This list could be greatly added to if we were to take the names from all the many tribes of blacks who live where the little koala lived.

It was mentioned that the native bear was not a real bear, as it belonged to the marsupials or pouched animals. Consequently, it belongs to the same general group as the kangaroos, wallabies, possums, etc. Its nearest relatives in the tree branches are the possums; but a much nearer sort of cousin is the wombat, which is far more like a bear in its form than the koala, digs holes in the ground in which to hide, and cannot climb trees at all. But, even so, it is interesting to note that the illustrious naturalist who gave the koala its scientific name, when publishing a description of it, must have been struck by certain bear-like appearances, for he called it *Phascolarctus*—from the Greek *phascolos*, pouched; and *arctos*, a bear.

And now we must have something about the interesting life history of the koala. Like other marsupials, the young is born at a very small size and at a very backward state of development—almost a worm-like creature of a little less than an inch in length. Further development takes place in the pouch, where the baby remains for a period of about six months. The pouch grows larger and larger to adapt itself to the growing baby koala, until at last the



Only a "Teddy Bear"

baby outgrows its very comfortable home, and must seek a resting place on its mother's woolly back. Many people who have seen the young koala in this position have been sorry either for the young one or the mother, or perhaps for both. But they may spare their concern, for both young and adult are admirably adapted for hanging on with their great prehensile claws, which are enormously strong relative to the size of the animal itself.

Probably there is no prettier sight than that of the mother koala carrying a well-developed young one on her back and up a tree to the safety of some comfortable forked bough, there to rest and to look down in contempt upon the dangers of the earth below. Long after the young one has left the pouch it is still suckled by the mother; even up to twelve months. It can then begin to shift for itself and to select from the great collection of gum trees (*eucalyptus*) leaves just the particular sorts that it may fancy. These leaves form the

koala's staple diet at all seasons. A number of people have claimed that the animal descends the trees occasionally for the purpose of obtaining other vegetation and certain roots; but, at best, such food must be of minor importance to this strange feeder, which lives almost exclusively upon the gum leaves. When I was a boy at North Shore (Sydney), I used to observe the koalas also eating some of the leaves, and apparently the fruits of the mistletoe (*loranthus*), which grows upon the gum trees. This habit has been reported to me also by other observers in several parts of New South Wales.

In a state of nature, the koala is found only in the eastern states of the mainland of Australia, from the southernmost part of Victoria up to the tropical parts of Queensland. It has never been found in Tasmania. For about one hundred years after the beginning of settlement in Australia, the koala remained in great abundance in many parts of the heavily timbered bushlands; and could still be found in many places where most of the timber had been removed. But during the last forty years there has been a tremendous diminution of their numbers, until today they are only to be found in numbers in a very few localities while in most of the places where they used to be common they are now either altogether absent or are only found in very small numbers indeed. We can all see, therefore, how great is the need for us to bestir ourselves to take action so that the koala will not become extinct.

In a few places in Queensland large numbers of the koala are to be found, but only the most careful protection by the Government and by the Australian people will prevent them from being exterminated in these places as so many thousands of their kind have been destroyed in the past. Telling of the terrible destruction which has gone on in Queensland (until it was stopped to a large extent recently) makes a very unhappy story, and makes one rather ashamed to think that his own people should so cruelly destroy one of the most fascinating, harmless and most interesting living things in the whole world of Nature. One feels particularly

ashamed because it cannot be truthfully said that the koala is in any way a pest. It has never been known to destroy fruit or grain crops of any kind, living, as I said before, on the leaves of certain of the gum trees or eucalypts.

Very few people have any idea of the immense number of these harmless animals killed in the one State of Queensland in only a few years before the present season of protection was introduced. In 1927, about 600,000 were killed during one month's open season (August), and, for the whole year, including a so-called close season, not less than one million were slain. Altogether, several millions of the poor little koalas were killed in a space of a few years in Queensland, until a great wave of public indignation put a stop to it for the time being.

Although very large numbers of the koala have been killed by shooters and trappers in Victoria and New South Wales, the majority of them seem to have died out through the incidence of some form of disease. Some people think that this might have been a disease introduced with domesticated animals from abroad; others think that it might have been brought in by the European rabbit, which has become so widespread and such a great pest in many parts of Australia. We do not know this, however; but the fact remains that during the years from about 1885 to 1895, immense numbers died in both these States. The deaths were not limited to the koalas, as a number of other marsupials also suffered—principally the so-called native cats or *das-yures*. When I was a small boy, staying for a school holiday at the junction of the Colo and Hawkesbury rivers. I actually saw numbers of these poor little koalas sitting in the trees, or at the foot of a tree, looking very sick and miserable, scratching their heads aimlessly, while some of them whimpered very like a baby.

This curious baby-like cry has always attracted attention, and has been the means of encouraging the sympathy of their human friends, though it does not seem to have helped very much in preventing the dreadful killings which I have just mentioned.

Now, after mentioning the destruc-

tion of the species, it is important to speak of the steps that are being taken for the reestablishment of the native bear in at least some parts of its old habitat. The first of these steps is protection. In each of the States of Victoria, Queensland and New South Wales, the animal is protected by law. But protection by the law and protection by the whole of the people are not always one and the same thing. Unfortunately, there are still many people who, when they find a thing is worth money, will forget all other things and will try to make use of that thing for their own profit. This is what has happened repeatedly with the koala. Men found that they could sell the skins, and so they killed the animal, whether it was protected by law or not.

Some years ago, the Wild Life Preservation Society of Australia found that almost the whole of the skins of the koala were being sent for sale to the United States of America—many of them during closed seasons in Australia, when the killing of the animal was forbidden. In this case, the skins were sent out under the name of "wombat," although the wombat has a very coarse, hairlike fur. So, after having taken the necessary preventive action in Australia, it was decided to approach the President of the United States personally—because he (President Hoover) had once lived in Australia and had become very interested in Australian wild life—with the request that no more skins of the koala (or even any marked as wombat) would be allowed to come into any port of the United States. President Hoover agreed to this, and absolutely prohibited the entry of such skins into any portion of the United States, or its dependencies. This was a very important step forward, of course, and helped us and other friends of the koala, who were fighting for its life and freedom, very much indeed.

In addition to this measure of protection, the State Governments were each asked to do their utmost to prevent the koalas from being destroyed or their skins from being exported from one state to another, and the Commonwealth Government (which controls all exports overseas) was asked to prohibit all exportations. This was agreed to.

While this official Government protection has been in force, a number of people here and there in Australia have been doing their utmost to spread a knowledge of the native bear and its habits and of the great need for helping it and protecting it in every possible way throughout our country. Never before in our history was there so much public interest in the Teddy Bear's welfare as in these last few years; and that must help a great deal to bring the little animal back again to its beloved wild bushlands in the future.

During the past ten years or so there have been occasional reports of the appearance of one or two native bears in some part of New South Wales and Victoria from which they had previously disappeared. Unfortunately, in a number of cases, people have caught these—although it was, and is, unlawful to do so—with the intention of keeping them as pets, nearly always with disastrous results to the poor little koala, which requires very special care in handling and feeding, and should only be so handled and kept in a very few public institutions, under scientific control. But the fact that the koalas have appeared in these bush places again is important, and helps us to see what might be done if we encourage them—and even restore them in such places, where they will not be interfered with at all by humans, and where they might again live their wild existence, just as they did for the thousands of years before the white man came to Australia.

At the present time specimens of the koalas are kept on view in a living state in several Australian zoos, including at least three private ones—one near Sydney, one not far from Brisbane and another near Adelaide. The difficulty about such establishments is that while it may be pleasant for humans to be able to go places where they may see this dear little bush charmer and where they may even handle it, the circumstances surrounding their life anywhere in captivity or semicaptivity are quite unnatural to them. The koala is, of course, nocturnal, usually shunning the daylight and hiding his eyes as much as possible from the strong glare of the sun, even when asleep in the open, or

some tree fork, as may happen. Many of our people, therefore, think that it is unwise and perhaps even cruel to the Teddy Bear to expose him to such an unnatural life. But, in any case, whether we approve of such establishments or not, it cannot be expected that they will assist us to bring the animal back to its own native environment in the bushlands—and this is just what we must do. This view has been officially endorsed by the Society.

Some very good beginnings have already been made in this direction, and of these I must say something. In Victoria some few years ago, the Government determined to take a hand in putting the koala back where he belonged, so they made a very good start by collecting odd specimens here and there and placing them together in localities where they could be quite free in the trees to live their own lives without interference by the public. One of these places was the great National Park at Wilson's Promontory. Here there are now to be found many specimens living happily in this great wild park.

Another place in Victoria where the koalas are now very firmly established is on the islands in Westernport—just "round the corner" to the south, on the Victorian coast. Here, at French Island and Phillip Island, the visitor and holiday maker may go out into the bush or along the public roads—even in the settled parts—and see quite a lot of happy koalas curled up in the gum trees. In these parts the trees are not very tall, so that everyone has a splendid opportunity of seeing the animals in their natural habitat without being able to interfere with them at all, and without causing them any fear or any of the discomforts of being handled or artificially fed. So well have the koalas done on Phillip Island that they are now being spread from there to still more places in Victoria—and so the good work goes on, and Teddy Bear is steadily coming back again.

In New South Wales we have not yet carried out this work, although we have done so much to encourage protective laws and popular interest. The Wild Life Preservation Society of Australia, however, aided by the splendid Gould League (of which there are so

many thousands of school pupils members) and the Junior Tree Wardens, is trying to get Government support to enable us to do what Victoria is doing. With the help of all no doubt we shall succeed, so that our quaint Teddy Bear will not only be again common in many wild bushlands along the eastern part or coastal division of New South Wales, but may again be found within the metropolitan area of Sydney. There is no scientific or biological reason that this should not be so, whatever may be said by some interested people to the contrary. When that day comes it will be a happy time not only for the koala but for the thousands of bush walkers, Nature lovers and holiday makers who are so fond of journeying out along the roads and the beaches near to our glorious Australian bushlands, in the incomparably beautiful Sydney region.

This reestablishment or putting back of the native animals of various countries is going on more and more in many parts of the world, so that nowadays one may go through a great park like the noble Kruger park, in South Africa, and see antelopes and buffaloes, and even lions and many other four-footed creatures of the wilds in their native state and with very little fear of man. Or, as in America, where we may see moose, bison or bear and a host of the smaller animals in full view in their own homes and without that terrible fear which the poor animals have so sadly learned from their past contact with the human race—which has so often killed the animals without any just cause at all.

Australia also must have these great wild nature parks filled with all our own (not introduced) interesting and peculiar native animals and birds. We already have many wonderful national parks set aside for permanent preservation in their wild state with beautiful trees and ferns and wild flowers; but we must go a step further and encourage the living wild things to come and stay there without fear that we may perhaps shoot or trap or snare them. By this means we may make the great bushlands not only a paradise for the birds and animals, but also for ourselves.

Fishes of the American Northwest

A Catalogue of the Fishes of Washington and Oregon, With Distributional Records and a Bibliography

BY LEONARD P. SCHULTZ AND ALLAN C. DELACY
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(Fifth installment, conclusion. Copies of issues containing first, second, third and fourth installments, while available, 75 cents a copy, postpaid to any address in the world.—THE EDITORS.)

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Admiralty Head	48	10	122	41	Baker R.	48	32	121	44
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Anderson Cr.	47	34	122	58	Black R.	47	28	122	15
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					Brown Is.	48	32	123	00

Name of place	Location			Name of place	Location		
	N.	Lat.	W. Long.		N.	Lat.	W. Long.
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Bucoda	46	47	122 52	Dosewallips R.	47	41	122 54
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Damon	46	24	124 08	Honey Cr.	42	24	119 52
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Lostine	45	30	117 27	Port Orford	42	44	124 30
Lostine R.	45	33	117 30	Port Orford Reef	42	45	124 38
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Lynch Cr.	46	52	122 16	Port Townsend	48	07	122 46
Malden	47	13	117 28	Possession Sound	48	00	122 15
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Manchester	47	34	122 32	Puget Sound	47	30	122 25
Marrowstone Pt.	48	06	122 41	Pullman	46	44	117 10
Marshall Lake	48	16	117 05	Puyallup R.	47	15	122 25
Matthews Cr.	47	41	122 16	Pysht R.	48	13	124 07
McKenzie R.	44	07	123 06	Queets R.	47	32	124 20
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Odessa	47	20	118 41	Sherwood Cr.	47	23	122 49
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Snoqualmie R.	47	48	122 03	Willapa Bank	46	45	124 40
Soleduck R.	47	55	124 39	Willapa Bay	46	40	124 00
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Spokane R.	47	53	118 20	Wilson Cr.	46	42	123 39
Starbuck	46	31	118 07	Winchester	43	16	123 20
Steilacoom	47	10	122 35	Winchester Bay	43	41	124 11
St. Helens	45	52	122 48	Wynooche R.	46	58	123 36
St. Helens R.	45	51	122 48	Yachats	44	19	124 06
Stickney, Lake	47	53	122 16	Yakima	46	36	120 30
Stillaguamish R.	48	14	122 23	Yakima R.	46	14	119 13
Strait Juan de Fuca	48	20	124 20	Yaquina Bar	44	37	124 05
Stuart Lake	47	32	120 57	Yaquina Bay	44	37	124 02
Sucia Is.	48	45	122 55	Yaquina Head	44	41	124 05
Sultan R.	47	50	121 50	Yaquina R.	44	37	124 04
Sumas	49	00	122 15	Youngs R.	46	10	123 50
Summer Lake	42	52	120 44	Zillah	46	24	120 15
Sunnyside	46	20	120 01				
Sutherland, Lake	48	05	123 41				
Swamp Cr.	47	45	122 14				
Tacoma	47	15	122 30				
Tacoma Cr.	48	24	117 17				
Tahkenitch R.	43	48	124 04				
Taholah	47	20	124 17				
Tahoma Cr.	47	44	121 54				
Tatoosh Is.	48	23	124 44				
Teanaway R.	47	10	120 50				
Teawhit Pt.	47	52	124 36				
Tekoa	47	14	117 03				
Tenmile Cr.	44	13	124 07				
The Dalles	45	35	121 10				
Three Arch Rocks	45	28	123 58				
Tillamook Bay	45	31	123 55				
Tillamook Head	45	57	123 59				
Tillamook Rock	45	56	123 59				
Touchet R.	46	02	118 41				
Trask R.	45	27	123 50				
Tsiltcoos Lake	43	07	124 06				
Tsiltcoos R.	43	53	124 09				
Tucannon R.	46	33	118 10				
Tulalip	48	04	122 18				
Umatilla	45	55	119 20				
Umatilla R.	45	55	119 22				
Umpqua R.	43	40	124 11				
Union, Lake	47	38	122 21				
Upper Klamath L.	42	14	121 50				
Upright Channel	48	35	122 54				
Useless Bay	47	58	122 30				
Utsaladdy	48	15	122 31				
Vancouver	45	37	122 40				
Waadda Is.	48	23	124 35				
Waldron Is.	48	42	123 02				
Wallace R.	47	52	121 44				
Walla Walla	46	04	118 20				
Walla Walla R.	46	03	118 57				
Wallowa	45	34	117 32				
Wallowa Lake	45	21	117 13				
Wallowa R.	45	43	117 48				
Wallula	46	04	118 55				
Warm Springs	43	12	119 14				
Warm Springs R.	44	51	121 04				
Warner Cr. (Deep Cr.)	42	10	119 53				

ALBATROSS STATIONS

Station	Location		
	N.	Lat.	W. Long.
2866	48	09	125 03
2868	47	52	124 44
2871	46	55	125 11
3059	44	56	124 12
3060	40	56	124 02
3064	46	03	124 09
3067	47	36	122 23
3070	47	30	125 43
3071	47	29	125 34
3072	47	28	125 24
3073	47	28	125 15
3074	47	22	125 48
3075	47	22	125 41
3076	47	46	125 10
3078	43	59	124 46
3091	45	32	124 20
3343	47	41	125 20
3346	45	30	124 52
3347	45	10	124 45
3449	48	30	124 40
3450	48	27	124 40
3459	48	24	124 25
3460	48	25	124 10
3597	48	15	123 00
3790	48	20	124 59
4205 Admiralty Head Light	N. 38° W.,	1.3 mi.	
4206 " " " "	N. 69° W.,	2 mi.	
4207 " " " "	N. 20° W.,	1.7 mi.	
4208 " " " "	N. 22° W.,	3.5 mi.	
4209 " " " "	N. 50° W.,	0.6 mi.	
4211 " " " "	N. 83° W.,	1.3 mi.	
4212 " " " "	N. 88° W.,	1.4 mi.	
4213 " " " "	N. 82° W.,	2 mi.	
4214 Kala Pt.	N. 41° W.,	1.1 mi.	
4215 " " " "	N. 83° W.,	0.5 mi.	
4217 Bush Point Light	S. 27° E.,	2.9 mi.	
4218 Olele Point	S. 26° E.,	1.9 mi.	
4219 " " " "	S. 27° E.,	1.5 mi.	
4220 " " " "	S. 20° E.,	0.8 mi.	
4221 " " " "	S. 37° W.,	0.5 mi.	
4222 " " " "	S. 61° W.,	1.4 mi.	



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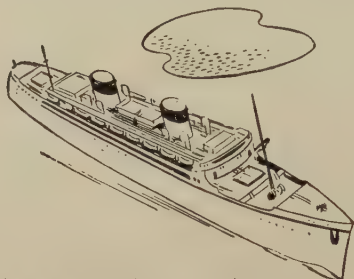
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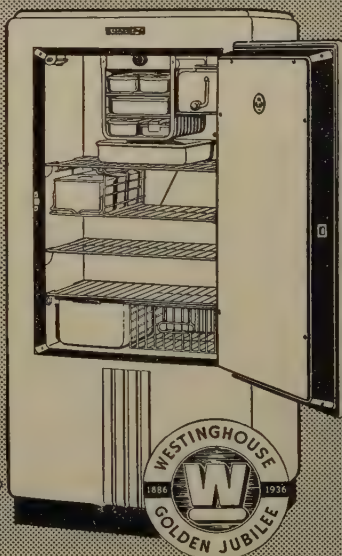
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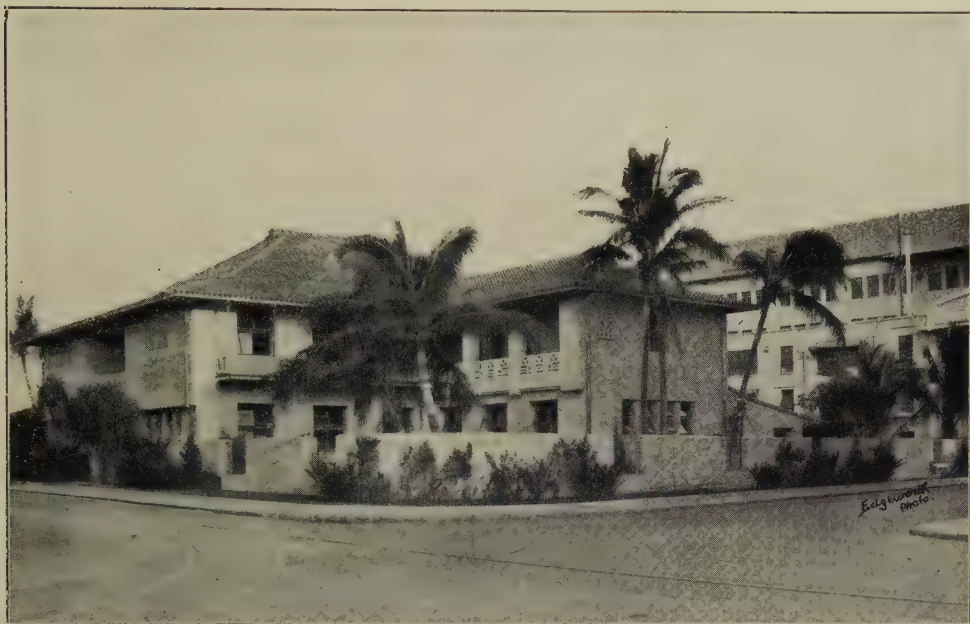
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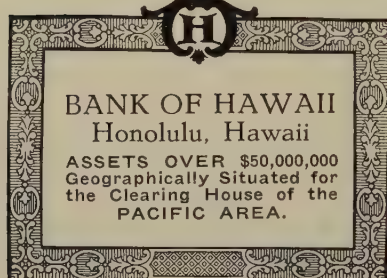
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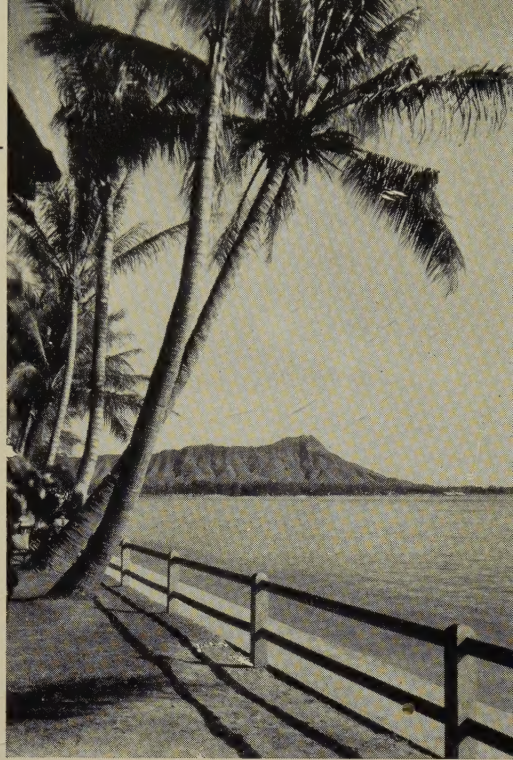
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